A SPECIMEN OF A COMMENTARY ON *SHAKSPEARE*, &c. &c. &c.

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OF

A COMMENTARY

ON

SHAKSPEARE,

CONTAINING

SPECIMEN I

NOTES ON AS YOU LIKE IT

A COMMENTARY

AND ATTEMPT

SHAKSPEARE,

EXPLAIN AND ILLUSTRATE

VARIOUS PASSAGES,

ON A NEW PRINCIPLE OF CRITICISM,

DERIVED FROM

MR. LOCKE'S DOCTRINE

OF

THE ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS.

London:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

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by the Revd Walter Whiter.

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TO THE READER.

As the ever-fruitful subject of Shakspeare and commentators still continues to engage the ore to exercise the candor of the public; SPECIMEN of a criticism may perhaps appear under the favourable impression an topic. The vanity of the writer will cover and applaud the importance of a discussion, which he well knows to be so deeply connected with the principles of general taste and the feelings of national enthusiasm. By the title of the present work, I am desirous of expressing the imperfect endeavours of an [illegible] Critic to advance the progress of this enquiry; and I have laboured with considerable diligence to convince at once the Reader and the Commentator that the stores of knowledge

TO THE READER.

As "the ever-fruitful ſubject of Shakſpeare and "his Commentators" ſtill continues to engage the curioſity or to exerciſe the candor of the public; even the Specimen *of a criticiſm may perhaps venture to appear under the favourable impreſſion of a popular topic. The vanity of the writer will eaſily diſcover and applaud the importance of a diſcuſſion, which he well knows to be ſo deeply connected with the principles of general taſte and the feelings of national enthuſiaſm. By the title of the preſent work, I am deſirous of expreſſing the imperfect endeavours of an occaſional Critic to advance the progreſs of this enquiry; and I have laboured with conſiderable diligence to convince at once the Reader and the Commentator that the ſtores of know-*

ledge are not ultimately exhauſted in the elucidation of Shakſpeare. I may be tempted, perhaps, on ſome future occaſion to proceed in the reſearch, and to enlarge the boundaries of my SPECIMEN; *though I might well be contented to relinquiſh the execution of ſuch a deſign to the vigour of more regular exertions, and the learning of more ample reſources. The obſervations on* AS YOU LIKE IT *are deſtined either to eſtabliſh ſome interpretation, which had eluded the ſagacity of former critics; or to defend an original reading, which had been rejected by the concurrence of all the commentators, or at leaſt by the opinion of the beſt. Mr. Malone* will rejoice, I truſt, to perceive that ſomething may be ſtill added to the labour of thirty years; and that his induſtry may be yet ſucceſsfully employed in removing from the text of Shakſpeare the capricious innovations of ignorance or of temerity. In the* ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN AND ILLUSTRATE VARIOUS PASSAGES ON A NEW PRINCIPLE OF CRITICISM; *I have en-*

* *Preface, p.* 11. *I have conſtantly referred to the edition of Shakſpeare by Mr. Malone,* 1790; *and I have generally expreſſed the opinions of the commentators from the ſtatement of that accurate editor. I conſider the publication of this edition as forming a diſtinguiſhed æra in the ſtudy of Shakſpeare.*

deavoured

deavoured to unfold the ſecret and ſubtle operations of genius from the moſt indubitable doctrine in the theory of metaphyſics. As theſe powers of the imagination have never, I believe, been adequately conceived, or ſyſtematically diſcuſſed; I may perhaps be permitted, on this occaſion, to adopt the language of ſcience and to aſſume the merit of DISCOVERY. *The reader will at leaſt be inſtructed in a portion of knowledge, which was before hidden from his view; however he may finally appreciate the importance of the doctrine or the dexterity of the teacher.*

WALTER WHITER.

Clare Hall,
May 10, 1794.

AS YOU LIKE IT.

119. "AS I remember, Adam, it was upon this "fashion. He bequeathed me by will but a poor "thousand crowns; and, as thou say'st, charged "my brother, on his blessing, to breed me well" &c.] This is the reading of Sir William Blackstone. Dr. Johnson reads, "As I remember, "Adam, it was on this fashion bequeathed me. "By will but a poor thousand crowns; and, as "thou sayest, &c." "The nominative *my father*" (says Dr. Johnson) "is certainly left out, but so "left out that the auditor inserts it in spite of him-"self." *Dr. Warburton* reads, and *Mr. Capell* is of opinion, that "there was never a more certain emendation," "*As I remember, Adam, it was upon this* MY FATHER *bequeathed me, &c.*" Amidst these various emendations, the reading and pointing of the old Copy are certainly right, "As I remember "Adam it was upon this fashion bequeathed me

" by will,—and as thou ſaiſt charged my brother " on his bleſſing." *Father* is not the nominative caſe to *charged*, but the conſtruction muſt be ſupplied by *it was charged*. *His* by the artifice of the poet relates to ſomething underſtood, that the audience may be impreſſed with the idea of a previous converſation; and as if he had not ſufficiently explained himſelf in this place, he afterwards adds (122) " My *father* charged you in his will." It may be further obſerved on this paſſage, that the old Copy reads *but poore a thouſand crownes*, which I believe to be right.

220. " Marry, Sir, be better employ'd and be " naught a while."] The ſenſe of this paſſage may be collected from the ſeveral notes of the Commentators, though it is extremely ſingular that the *true* ſenſe of the phraſe, *Be naught awhile*, ſhould be gathered from the paſſages which have been produced by our Critics to ſupport *three* different interpretations. Dr. Warburton thinks that the expreſſion, *Be naught a while*, is only a North country proverbial curſe equivalent to *a miſchief on you*. So the old poet Skelton,

" Correct firſt thyſelfe, walke and *be nought*,
" Deeme what thou liſt, thou knoweſt not my
" thought."

Mr. Steevens thinks that this explanation is *far-fetched*, and believes " that the words *be nought a*

" *while*

" *while* mean no more than this, *Be content to be a* " *cypher, till I ſhall think fit to elevate you into conſe-* " *quence.* " This was certainly" (ſays he) " a pro- " verbial ſaying. I find it in *The Storie of King* " *Darius*, an interlude, 1565."

Come away *and be nought a whyle*
Or ſurely I will you both defyle.

Again in K. Henry IV. p. 2. Falſtaff ſays to Piſtol, " Nay, if he do nothing but ſpeak nothing, *he ſhall* " *be nothing here.*"

Though Mr. Malone allows that the words *naught* and *nought* are frequently confounded in old Engliſh books (which in the edition of 1785 he has ſhewn, by producing ſome paſſages where *nought* is ſpelt *naught*;) and though he once coincided with the interpretation of Mr. Steevens, yet he is now induced by a paſſage in *Sweetnam*, a comedy, 1620, to concur with the explanation given by Dr. Johnſon, who thinks, that "*Be better employ'd, and be* " *naught a while,*" is uſed in the ſame ſenſe as we ſay, *It is better to do miſchief than to do nothing.* The paſſage from *Sweetnam* is,

" Get you both in and be *naught a while.*"

This is ſpoken by a chambermaid to her miſtreſs with a lover.

Now is it not manifeſt, that in all theſe paſſages (from which our Commentators have extracted ſuch oppoſite interpretations) the phraſe in queſtion has

invariably the ſame meaning? *Be naught or nought a while* certainly means—*Retire—begone*, or as we now ſay in a kind of quaint, colloquial language, *make yourſelf* SCARCE—*vaniſh—vote yourſelf an* EVANESCENT QUANTITY *. In the ſame ſtyle we ſay, to expreſs the abſence of a perſon whom we had good reaſon to expect,—*There's* NONE *of William—Here's* NO *Thomas*; and in this very play we find a ſimilar expreſſion applied in the ſame ſenſe, though with an ironical meaning (208). "Is it not paſt two "o'clock? And *here* MUCH *Orlando* †."—Mr. Ma-

* I am diſpoſed to think, that in the following paſſage, *naught* is taken in this ſenſe, or at leaſt that an alluſion is made to this ſenſe of the word.

"*Men.* Go, get you to your houſe; be *gone*, away,
"*All* will be NAUGHT elſe." (Coriolanus, 229.)

i. e. if *you* are not gone, *every thing* will be gone.

† Of this kind *perhaps* is a paſſage in Henry V. which has much divided our Commentators. *Piſtol* ſays to *Nym*,

"O braggard vile, and damned furious wight!
"The grave doth gape, and doting death is near;
"Therefore *exhale*." (Act II. S. i. p. 479.)

"*Exhale*" (ſays Mr. Malone) "I believe, here ſignifies *draw*, "or in Piſtol's language, *hale* or *lug out*. The ſtage-direction "in the old Quarto (*they draw*) confirms this explanation. "Mr. Steevens thinks Piſtol means to ſay, *breathe your laſt*, or "*die*." Had Mr. Malone been aware of the following paſſage from *Jonſon's Poetaſter*, he could not have been more fortunate in the terms which he has choſen for the explanation of *exhale*. *Criſpinus*, on being arreſted by the Lictors, ſays, "Nay, I beſeech "you, gentlemen, do not *exhale* me thus."—*Tucca*. Why how

lone

lone was miſled in his interpretation of the paſſage from *Sweetnam* by the equivoque contained in it, which in its ſecondary ſenſe certainly refers to what Mr. Malone ſuppoſes. A double meaning was likewiſe intended by Shakſpeare in the ſentence before us, and there is an alluſion to the proverb, which *Dr. Johnſon* imagines. This explanation agrees with the ſucceeding ſpeech of Orlando, "Shall I keep your hogs, and eat huſks with "them?" That is, "*Shall I be driven from your "houſe, and herd with your ſwine?*"

121. "I have as much of my father in me as "you; albeit I confeſs your coming before me is "nearer to his *reverence*.] The note, which Mr. Malone has added to this paſſage, is calculated to

"now my good brace of blood-hounds? Whither do you *drag* "the gentleman?" (Act III, S. iii.) *Exhale* certainly means here to *hale* or *lug away the perſon* of Criſpinus, which in the quaint language of Piſtol may be transferred to the *haling*, or *lugging out*, of Nym's ſword. If however this verb may be applied in a neuter ſenſe to the *removal of the perſon*, it may mean *Retire---begone*, or what Nym before ſays to Piſtol, *ſhog off*. (478.)---There is another paſſage in Jonſon's Maſque of *Pan's Anniverſary* (p. 643), which is to be referred to the ſame mode of ſpeaking. "*Fencer*. What are your ſports for the purpoſe? "ſay, if ſinging, you ſhall be ſung down; if dancing, danc'd "down. There is no more to be done with you, but know "what; which it is, and you *are in ſmoke, gone, vapour'd, va-* "*niſh'd, blown*, and (as a man would ſay) in a word of two "ſyllables, NOTHING."

miſlead the reader, by annexing the name of *Warburton* to the following explanation: "The reve-
" rence due to my father is, in ſome degree deriyed
" to you, as the firſt born." We might from hence imagine that ſuch a ſenſe was adopted by Warburton; but this he only gives as a poſſible interpretation, and is *firmly perſuaded* that the poet had a different meaning. He propoſes therefore to read *revenue* for *reverence*; and this emendation appears to have been generally admitted into the text. Mr. Capell has obſerved, that in the original reading no reaſon can be given for the ſudden anger of Oliver, which is certainly occaſioned by ſomething offenſive at the concluſion of Orlando's ſpeech. The reading however of the old Copy is unqueſtionably the true one. *Reverence* appears to have been the appropriate term for the "*reverential*
" condition or character of an old man." So in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Benedick ſays, "I ſhould
" think this a gull; but that the white-bearded
" fellow ſpeaks it; knavery cannot hide himſelf in
" ſuch *reverence*." (Act II. S. iii. p. 242.) Again Leonato ſays,

"Thou haſt ſo wrong'd my innocent child and me,
" That I am forc'd to lay my *reverence* by,
" And with grey hairs, and bruiſe of many days,
" Do challenge thee to tryal of a man."

(Act V. S. i. p. 286.)

Cordelia

Cordelia ſays, in *Lear*,

" O my dear father! Reſtoration, hang
" Thy medicine on my lips; and let this kiſs
" Repair thoſe violent harms, that my two ſiſters
" Have in thy *reverence* made."

(Act IV. S. vii. p. 657.)

Again Gloſter reading the letter ſuppoſed to be written by Edgar, "This policy, and *reverence* of " age, makes the world bitter to the beſt of our " times; keeps our fortunes from us, till our old- " neſs cannot reliſh them." (Act I. S. ii. p. 508.) In the Second Part of Henry VI. we have the following lines, where Mr. Malone refers us to this paſſage in *As You like it*.

" Waſt thou ordain'd, dear father,
" To loſe thy youth in peace, and to atchieve
" The ſilver livery of advis'd age;
" And in thy *reverence*, and thy chair-days thus
" To die in ruffian battle." (Act V. S. ii. p. 251.)

In the preſent inſtance *Orlando* uſes the word in an ironical ſenſe, and means to ſay that his "bro- " ther by coming before him is nearer to a reſpect- " able and venerable elder of a family." The phraſe, *His reverence*, is ſtill thus ironically applied, though with ſomewhat of a different meaning; and we frequently uſe the expreſſion of *your worſhip* both with a grave and ludicrous ſignification nearly in the ſame manner.—The ſenſe, which I have here

given, is certainly right; and will account for the *anger* of Oliver; and for the *words* which they mutually retort upon each other reſpecting their *ages*.

" *Orlando.* Albeit I confeſs your coming before " me is nearer to his *reverence*.

" *Oliver.* What, *boy!*

" *Orlando.* Come, come, *elder* brother, you are " too *young* in this.

It is extremely curious, that our Poet has caught many words and even turns of expreſſion belonging to the novel, from which the play is taken; though he has applied them in a mode generally different, and often very remote from the original. This has certainly taken place in the preſent inſtance, and the paſſage which contains it will likewiſe ſupply us with another example. *Roſader*, or *Orlando*, is introduced making, for the firſt time, his reflections on the indignities which he had ſuffered from his brother *Saladine*, or *Oliver*.—" As he was " thus" (ſays the Noveliſt) " ruminating his me- " lancholy paſſions, in came Saladine with his " men, and ſeeing his brother in a browne ſtudy " and to forget his wonted *reverence*, thought to " *ſhake* him out of his dumps thus. (*Euphues' Golden Legacy.*) *Orlando* ſays in Shakſpeare, " Go " apart, Adam, and thou ſhalt hear how he will " *ſhake* me up." (120). Our Poet, in his character of the good *Adam*, has omitted a compliment which he might have paid to his country. In the

 novel

novel he is called "*Adam Spencer an Engliſhman.*" He has likewiſe omitted (as our Commentators have remarked) to reward him in the cataſtrophe for his fidelity.

125. "*Roſalind.* What think you of falling in "love?

"*Celia.* Marry, I pr'ythee, do, to make ſport "withal: but love no man in good earneſt; nor "no further in ſport neither, than with ſafety of a "pure bluſh thou may'ſt in honour come off "again."] It is in this dangerous diverſion, that Roſalind indulges herſelf in the original novel. "She accounted love a toy, and fancie a momen-"tarie paſſion, that as it was taken in with a gaze, "might be ſhaken off with a winke."

130. "The princeſſes call for you."] The old Copy reads "*the princeſſe calls*," which is right. It is Celia only who calls for him; and the anſwer of Orlando, "I will attend *them*," as Celia is accompanied by Roſalind, does not invalidate the ancient reading.

133. "My better parts
"Are all thrown down; and that which here
"ſtands up
"Is but a *quintaine*, a mere lifeleſs block."] The propriety of this compariſon is yet undiſcovered. The explanation given by Mr. Guthrie is neither

juſt

juſt in itſelf, nor is it applicable to the caſe in queſtion; he appears to have been miſled, by ſuppoſing that the firſt part of the ſpeech muſt neceſſarily be included in the ſimile, and relate to the Quintaine. Mr. Malone's interpretation is extremely vapid and defective. I have not the leaſt doubt but that the ſhape of the Quintaine among the ruſtics of our Poet's time, was ſometimes in the *figure of a* MAN. This gives ſenſe and ſpirit to the image. "*My better parts are all thrown down—the* "*powers of my reaſon are overthrown; and I ſtand here* "*ſenſeleſs as the Quintaine, a* MAN ONLY IN MY "FORM." Among the French and Italians, the Quintaine was commonly in a human ſhape. *Meneſtrier*, in his treatiſe on Tournaments, has the following curious account of this diverſion: "La "Quintaine n'eſt autre choſe qu'un tronc d'arbre "ou un pilier contre lequel on va rompre la lance, "pour s'accoutumer a atteindre l'ennemi par des "coups meſurez. Nous l'appelons *la courſe au Faquin*, "parcequ'on ſe ſert ſouvant d'un faquin, ou d'un "portefaix, armé de toutes pieces; contre lequel "on court. Les Italiens la nomment *la courſe à* "*l'homme armé & le Sarraſin*, parce qu'ils transfi-"gurent ce faquin en Turc, en More, ou en "Sarraſin, pour rendre ces courſes plus myſté-"rieuſes. On ſe ſert ordinairement d'une figure "de bois en forme d'homme, plantée ſur un pivot, "afin qu'elle ſoit mobile. Elle demeure ferme "quand on la frappe au front entre les yeux & ſur

"le

" le nez ; qui ſont les meilleurs coups ; & quand " on la frappe ailleurs, elle tourne ſi rudement, " que ſi le Cavalier n'eſt adroit pour eſquiver le " coup, elle le frappe d'un fabre de bois ou d'un " *ſac plein de terre* ; ce qui donne a rire aux ſpecta- " teurs." For this paſſage I am indebted to *Ménage* in his *Origines de la Langue Francoiſe*. The Italian proverb, *Eſſer Saracino di Piazza (To be the Butt of every body)* refers to the figure of the Saracen in this exerciſe. (See *Torriano* in his *Proverbial Phraſes* ſub voce *Saracino)*.

Moſt nations appear to have had a martial or mock exerciſe of this kind, which would certainly be extremely various according to the genius of the age and the manners of the people ; but we may obſerve, that under every circumſtance the moſt obvious form for this object of attack would be the *human ſhape*, of which, as it is not difficult to make rude and ridiculous repreſentations, we may well conceive, that among the ſimpleſt ruſtics it would often be aſſumed for the form of the Quintaine. In the figure of it, which is given by *Stowe*, I have not the leaſt doubt but that the tranſverſe moveable piece of wood, with the mode of its acting, was derived from the idea of the human ſhape, and was intended to repreſent the arms.—I have before hinted, that " my better " parts are all thrown down," is not connected with the ſucceeding compariſon, and our Commentators were deceived probably by the metaphorical

phorical expreſſion *thrown down*. This however is not taken from the exerciſe of the Quintaine, as may be evident from the expreſſion *ſtands up*, which is put in oppoſition to it. Nothing is more certain, than that theſe terms are derived from WRESTLING. In the next ſpeech of Roſalind, and the ſucceeding one of Orlando, *overthrown* is uſed with the ſame alluſion; and I am ſurpriſed that our critics were not aware of this coincidence.—If the reader ſhould enquire why a ſimile, apparently ſo remote as the Quintaine, ſhould on this occaſion be preſented to the mind of our Poet, I will inform him, that the aſſociation was derived from the *feats of activity* in which Orlando had been juſt engaged; and the *love adventure* with which they were connected. The diverſion of the *Quintaine* (we know) was common at *marriages*, "When Jac and Tom, Dic, Hob "and Will ſtrove for the gay garland;" and their exertions, we may ſuppoſe, were not a little roufed by the hopes of ſucceeding with their *miſtreſſes*. So *Randolph*, in the ſame poem which Mr. Malone has quoted,

"A jolly ſwain was he
"Whom Peg and Suſan after Victory
"Crown'd with a Garland they had made, beſet
"With Daiſies, Pinks and many a Violet,
"Couſlip and Gilliflower."

The reader will not perfectly underſtand what is intended by this *Aſſociation of Ideas*, till he has peruſed

ruſed the obſervations which form the latter part of the volume.

142. " Here feel we *but* the penalty of Adam,
" The ſeaſons' difference; as, the icy fang,
" And churliſh chiding of the winter's wind;
" Which when it bites and blows upon my body,
" Even till I ſhrink with cold, I ſmile, and ſay,—
" This is no flattery: theſe are counſellors
" That feelingly perſuade me what I am."

The old Copy reads *not*, which Mr. Theobald changed into *but*. Though all our critics appear to have coincided in this emendation, yet I ſtill perſuade myſelf that the original reading is right. Mr. Theobald is of opinion, that the penalty of Adam expreſſed by the Poet was "the being ſenſible " of the difference of the ſeaſons." I do not think that this is the alluſion intended. I read the whole paſſage thus,

" Here feel we *not* the penalty of Adam;
" The ſeaſons' difference, as the icy fang
" And churliſh chiding of the winter's wind,—
" (Which when it bites and blows upon my body
" Even till I ſhrink with cold, I ſmile and ſay
" This is no flattery;)—theſe are counſellors,
" That feelingly perſuade me what I am."

The penalty of Adam, to which our Poet has here alluded, may be gathered from the following paſſages

paſſages in Scripture: "Curſed is the *ground* for thy "ſake; in *ſorrow* ſhalt thou *eat* of it all the days of "thy life." (Gen. iii. 17.)—"In the *ſweat* of thy "face ſhalt thou *eat* bread." (v. 19.)—"There-"fore the Lord God ſent him forth from the "garden of Eden, *to till the ground* from whence he "was taken." (v. 23.)—We here plainly ſee, that the only curſe * or penalty impoſed on Adam, which can have any reference to the condition of a country life, is the toil of cultivating the ground, and acquiring by that labour the means of ſuſtenance. The Duke therefore juſtly conſoles himſelf and his companions with the reflection, that *their* baniſhment into thoſe woods from the *paradiſe of a Court* (if we may be ſtill permitted to continue the alluſion) was not attended with the penalty pronounced on Adam—a life of pain and of labour; but that on the contrary it ought to be conſidered as a philoſophical retirement of eaſe and independence †.—With reſpect to the minute inconvenience

* This is the *penalty* pronounced on Adam by the *Pater Celeſtis* in Bale's *God's Promiſes*.

"He ſhall contynue in laboure for hys ratheneſſe,
"Hys owlye ſweate ſhall provyde hys food and rayment."

† It is thus deſcribed in another place: "They ſay, he is "already in the foreſt of Arden, and a many merry men with "him; and there they live like the old Robin Hood of Eng-"land: they ſay, many young gentlemen flock to him every "day; and fleet the time *careleſſly*, as they did in the *golden* "*world*." 123. In the original ſtory, from which the play is

which

which they might ſuffer from the difference of the ſeaſons—the biting froſt and the winter's wind—*theſe* (he obſerves) ſhould not be regarded in any other view than as ſharp but ſalutary counſellors, which made them *feel* only for the promotion of their good, and the improvement of their virtue.

144. "Left and abandon'd of his velvet "*friends*."] The old Copy has *friend*, which is right.—The ſingular is often uſed for the plural with a ſenſe more *abſtracted*, and therefore in many inſtances more poetical.

149. "*Ros.* O Jupiter! how *weary* are my "ſpirits!

"*Touch.* I care not for my ſpirits, if my legs "were not weary.

"*Ros.* I could find in my heart to diſgrace my "man's apparel, and to cry like a woman; but I "muſt comfort the weaker veſſel, as doublet and

ſiken, the Duke and his companions are made to poſſeſs *accommodations*, which I imagine the penalty impoſed on Adam did not permit him to enjoy. "It hapned that day, that Geriſ- "mond the lawfull king of France, baniſhed by Toriſmond, who "with a luſtie crew of outlawes lived in that foreſt, that day in "honor of his birth, made a feaſt to all his bolde yeomen, and "*frolick* it with *ſtore of wine* and veniſon, ſitting all at a long "table under the ſhadow of limon trees." Again; "They "feaſted themſelves with *good delicates* and *great ſtore of wine*."

(*Lodge's Roſalynd.*)

"hoſe

" hoſe ought to ſhow itſelf courageous to petti-
" coat; therefore, courage, good Aliena."] On this paſſage Mr. Malone has the following remark: " She invokes Jupiter, becauſe he was ſuppoſed " to be always in good ſpirits. So afterwards: " O moſt gentle *Jupiter!*"—A *Jovial* man was " a common phraſe in our author's time. One of " Randolph's plays is called ARISTIPPUS, *or the* " JOVIAL *Philoſopher*; and a comedy of Broome's, " *The* JOVIAL *Crew, or The* MERRY *Beggars*. The " old Copy reads, *How* MERRY. The emendation, " which the context and the Clown's reply render " certain, was made by Mr. Theobald." The context however, and the Clown's reply, added to the comment of Mr. Malone, eſtabliſh the *original* reading, and render the emendation of Mr. Theobald *certainly wrong*. Does not the reader perceive, that the whole humour of the paſſage conſiſts in the word MERRY, and that Roſalind ſpeaks thus ironically in order to comfort Celia? 'O Jupiter!' (ſays ſhe) 'what MERRY ſpirits I am in!' To which the clown replies, 'I care not whether my ſpi-' rits were good or bad, if my legs were not ' weary.'—' Indeed,' adds Roſalind, ' to ſpeak ' the truth, tho' I pretend in my *manniſh* character ' to be in *good* ſpirits, and *not* to be weary, yet " I " could find in my heart to diſgrace my man's ap-" parel and to cry like a woman: as it becomes " me however to comfort the weaker veſſel, I muſt " aſſume a quality which I have not:—therefore,

" *courage*,

" *courage*, good Aliena,—bear fatigue as I do, good " Aliena." Nothing is more certain than this explanation.

151. " Wearying thy hearer in thy miſtreſs " praiſe."] The old Copy has *wearing*, which is right. *Weary* is derived from *wear*. " Quoniam" (ſays *Junius*) " quotidiano uſu conteri ſolent ea, " quæ aſſiduè gerimus, hinc Anglis etiamnum, *to* " *wear or waſte away*, eſt Tabeſcere; atq. adeo " quoq. ab hac poſtrema verbi acceptione, *to* " *weary*, cæpit accipi pro Fatigare; quòd laſſitudo " corpora noſtra maxime frangat atq. ipſos quoq; " ſpiritus vitales valde imminuat." (Etymol. Anglican. ſub voce *Wear.*) But the following quotation from Jonſon's Maſque of *The Gypſies* puts the matter out of diſpute:

" Only time and ears out-*wearing*."

(Page 625. Edit. 1672.)

151. " And I remember the wooing a *Peaſcod* " inſtead of her."] Why ſhould our Poet fix upon a *Peaſcod* to be courted by Touchſtone for a *woman?* It might be ſuppoſed that ſome ludicrous reſemblance was intended; and however remote the likeneſs may appear, the following proverb will ſhew that ſuch a notion prevailed:

Se la *donna* foſſe coſi picciola come è buona,
Il minimo *bacello* le farebbe una veſte & una corona.

If women were as little as they are good,
A *Peaſcod* would make them a gowne and a hood.

(John Florio's ſecond Frutes, p. 174. 1591.)

153. " And *tune* his merry note
" Unto the ſweet bird's throat."] The old Copy has *turne*, which is certainly right. To *turn a tune*, in the counties of York and Durham, is the appropriate and familiar phraſe for modulating the voice properly according to the *turns* or air of the tune. This I learnt in a journey which I have lately made into the North, where a Commentator on Shakſpeare will find many peculiar expreſſions ſtill uſed in the ſame ſenſe which our author has annexed to them.—He who travels into the North may likewiſe learn that which is moſt precious in the intercourſe of ſocial life. He may there ſee the poliſh of cultivated manners united with the cordial feelings of hoſpitality.

155. " *Duc ad me, Duc ad me, Duc ad me,*
" Here ſhall he ſee
" Groſs fools as he,
" An if he will come to me."]
This is Sir T. Hanmer's reading for *Ducdame*; and an anonymous critic has propoſed *Huc ad me*. Dr. Farmer reads *Ducdamè* with an accent on the laſt ſyllable, and thinks it is a " word coined for the " nonce." Mr. Steevens informs us, as a confirmation of the old reading, that Dr. Farmer being

at

at a houſe not far from Cambridge, when news was brought of the hen-rooſt being robbed, a facetious old Squire who was preſent, ſung the following "Stanza, which" (ſays he) "has an odd coinci-"dence with the ditty of Jaques."

"Damè, what makes your Ducks to die?
"*Duck, Duck, Duck,*
Damè, what makes your chicks to cry?
Chuck, Chuck, Chuck.

I have been favoured with a couple of Stanzas, which are common in the counties of Cambridge and Norfolk, and which certainly belong to the ſame ſong, that was ſung by the facetious Squire:

Dame, what makes your Ducks to die?
What the pize ails 'em, what the pize ails 'em,
They kick up their heels and there they lie,
What the pize ails 'em now?
Heigh, Ho! Heigh, Ho!
Dame, what ails your Ducks to die?
What a pize ails 'em, what a pize ails 'em?
Heigh, Ho! Heigh, Ho!
Dame, what ails your Ducks to die?
Eating o' Pollywigs, eating o' Pollywigs. *(i. e. Tadpoles.)*
Heigh, Ho! Heigh, Ho!

In the foregoing Stanzas it is of no conſequence either as to the ſenſe or the metre, whether Dame be read in its uſual way, or whether we pronounce it

Damè with the accent on the laſt ſyllable. They are all however manifeſtly addreſſed to the *Dame*, the good houſewife of the family, under whoſe care we may ſuppoſe the poultry to be placed; and it may be obſerved, that the *Ducks* are particularly ſpecified on account of the alliteration with *Dame*. This beauty is mightily cultivated in effuſions of this ſort; and indeed it is often the only reaſon for the exiſtence of the compoſition.—I therefore ſee no difficulty in the derivation of the word *Ducdame*, which has ſo much embarraſſed our Commentators. What is more natural, or obvious, than to ſuppoſe *Duc Dame* or *Duc Damè* to be the uſual cry of the Dame to gather her Ducks about her; as if ſhe ſhould ſay, *Ducks come to your Dame*, or *Ducks come to your Damè?* The rhyme requires that we ſhould read it with Dr. Farmer *Ducdamè*, placing the accent on the laſt ſyllable. It is common for perſons in their addreſſes to young and helpleſs animals, either to make diminutives * of themſelves, or of the animals which they are addreſſing. The explication here given of this paſſage is the only one,

* The *Duck* ſeems to have been a term of *endearment* in moſt languages. This is the origin of *Bentley*'s famous emendation in the Plutus of Ariſtophanes.

Νηττάριον αν ϗ φαττιον υπεκορίζετο. (1012.)

Anaticulam & palumbulam blande vocabat.

That great critic was certainly ignorant of *Tanaquil Faber*'s conjecture, who appears to have made the emendation without being ſenſible of the ſpirit of the paſſage.

which

which at all properly correſponds with the context. 1ſt, According to this ſenſe, *Ducdamè*, *Ducdamè*, *Ducdamè*, becomes (what Jaques certainly intended it to be) a ridiculous parody on the burden of the former ſong, *Come hither*, *Come hither*, *Come hither*. This effect, I think, will hardly be produced by an indirect and inſipid tranſlation of *Come hither* into Latin. 2dly, This ſenſe likewiſe accounts for the ignorance of Amiens, and the explanation of Jaques. It is no wonder that a courtier ſhould not underſtand a term derived from the occupation of ruſtics; and the anſwer of Jaques plainly points out that the expreſſion was intended for a certain cry to collect together ſome ſilly ſpecies of animals, "'Tis a Greek invocation," ſays he, "to call "fools into a circle."—If Shakſpeare is to be explained, neither the writer nor the reader ſhould become faſtidious at the ſerious diſcuſſion of ſuch trifling topics.

155. "An if he will come *to me*."] Dr. Farmer reads *to Ami*, that is, to Amiens, and gives a reaſon for the rejection of the common reading, which of all others it will not admit:—"Jaques," he ſays, "did not mean to ridicule "himſelf." It is however, on the contrary, peculiarly in character for ſuch a humouriſt as Jaques thus to ridicule himſelf; and he produces this very ſong as a parody on the former one, intending by it to expoſe the folly both of himſelf and his com-

panions. *Any* however is the reading of the old Copy; and is certainly right. It ſurely was incumbent on the Doctor, or ſome of his fellow critics, to have given us this information; eſpecially as their attention muſt naturally be awake in the diſcuſſion of ſo diſputed a paſſage. I have ſeldom found the intereſts of learning much promoted by literary fellowſhips.

159. " He, that a fool doth very wiſely hit,"
" Doth very fooliſhly, although he ſmart,
" *Not to* ſeem ſenſeleſs of the bob *: if not,
" The wiſe man's folly is anatomiz'd *
" Even by the ſquand'ring glances of the fool."]

" The words *not to*" (ſays Mr. Malone), " which " are wanting in the old Copy to complete both

* *Bob* and *anatomize* were the appropriate terms in the attacks of ſucceſsful wit. So *Ben Jonſon* in his *Cynthia's Revels*, " But " then you have your *paſſages* and *imbroccatas* in *Courtſhip*, as " the *bitter Bob* in Wit," &c.——" You give him the *reverſe* " ſtroke with this *Sunna* or Storks-bill, which makes up your " wits *Bob* moſt bitter." (Act V. S. i.) Hence perhaps is derived the vulgar phraſe to *bear a bob*—to *bear your part* in the *rencounters* of wit. In *Troilus and Creſſida*, *Therſites* ſays of *Ajax*, " I have *bobb'd* his *brain*, more than he has beat my " bones." (Act II. S. i. p. 187.)—In another place *bob* is uſed in a ſenſe which it has among the vulgar at preſent, and which is likewiſe derived from its application to the effect of *wit*: " You " ſhall not *bob* us out of our melody." (pag. 211.)——*Anatomize* occurs every where, and means what we now quaintly expreſs by the phraſe *cut up*.

" bald."

" the metre and ſenſe, were added by Mr. Theo-
" bald." It is ſtrange, that our Commentators ſhould be deſirous of *making* a text for the Poet, when it is their buſineſs to explain that which he has given us. Neither Mr. Theobald nor Mr. Malone need be ſolicitous about the metre; and the ſenſe is full as good in the original text as with the emendation of Mr. Theobald.

I read and point the paſſage thus:

" He, that a fool doth very *wiſely* hit,
" Doth, very *fooliſhly* although he ſmart,
Seem ſenſeleſs of the bob; if not &c.

That is, a wiſe man, whoſe failings ſhould chance to be well rallied by a ſimple unmeaning jeſter, even though he ſhould be weak enough really to be hurt by ſo fooliſh an attack, appears always inſenſible of the ſtroke. Nothing is more certain than this explication.

With regard to the metre of our Poet, we may obſerve in general, that whenever the rythm of a diſputed verſe is defective to our ear, we have good reaſon to ſuſpect it is corrupted; ſo, on the contrary, when the line is ſmooth and eaſy, it will not be neceſſary for us to diſturb the text on the authority of our fingers. As the poet did not write with ſuch a proceſs, ſo he ought not to be tried by ſuch a teſt. In ſhort, the controverſy about the metre of Shakſpeare is merely a diſpute of *words*. When it is ſaid on the one ſide, that the metre is defective,

it is replied on the other, that Shakſpeare only differs from other poets as to the number of ſyllables which the ſame word is ſuppoſed to contain. (See Mr. Capell's Eſſay on Verſe, App. 227, and Mr. Malone's Pref. 35.) If the verſe in queſtion be repeated, nothing unpleaſant or defective will be diſcovered by the ear; and if the reader ſhould be farther deſirous of reforming it to the touchſtone of his fingers, he may ſuppoſe, if he pleaſes, that *ſeem* and *bob* are uſed as diſſylables. Nothing however can be more inharmonious than the verſe as it is ſupplied by Mr. Theobald, and the repetition of *not* at the extremities of the line is particularly rough and inelegant.

159. " Till that the *very very* means do ebb.]" The old Copy reads " The wearie verie," which is certainly right. The ſenſe is, ' till that the very ' means being weary do ebb.' *Very-very* is an extremely lame emendation indeed!

165. " Freeze, freeze, thou bitter ſky,
That doſt not bite ſo nigh
As benefits forgot:
Though thou the waters *warp*,
Thy ſting is not ſo ſharp
As friend remember'd not."]

The ſtrange propenſity in Commentators to reject what is obvious, and to ſeek what is remote, has been perpetually obſerved. Yet I know not, whether

ther in the whole hiſtory of criticiſm we can find ſo ſignal an example of this propenſity as the preſent inſtance will afford us. Mr. Kenrick remarks, that " the ſurface of *waters*, ſo long as they remain " unfrozen, is apparently a perfect plane; whereas " when they are frozen, this ſurface deviates from " its exact flatneſs, or warps." Dr. Johnſon obſerves, with more good ſenſe than uſually belongs to his remarks, that " to *warp* was probably in " Shakſpeare's time a colloquial word, which " conveyed no diſtant alluſion to any thing elſe, " phyſical or medicinal;" and yet he adds, as if it were impoſſible for him to continue long in the ſame vein of good ſenſe, " To *warp* is to *turn*, and " to *turn* is to *change:* when milk is *changed* by " curdling, we now ſay, it is *turned:* when water " is *changed* or *turned* by froſt, Shakſpeare ſays, it " is *curdled*. To be *warp'd* is only to be changed " from its natural ſtate." Mr. Steevens thinks that Dr. Johnſon is right: and Dr. Farmer is of opinion, that *warp'd* ſignifies to be *curdled*. Mr. Malone ſeems deſirous of leaving his fellow Commentators behind him in this conteſt of critical perverſion, and accordingly he doubts whether there be any alluſion at all to the operation of froſt. " The influence of the winter's ſky or ſeaſon" (ſays he) " may, with ſufficient propriety, be ſaid " to *warp* the ſurface of the *ocean* * by agitation of

* *Ocean!*—But why *Ocean*, Mr. Malone?—*Waters* ſurely do not neceſſarily mean the *waters* of the *ocean*.—In his addition,

its

" its waves only." Did our Commentators never learn, that *warp* ſignifies to *contract*, and that it is ſo uſed without any alluſion to the preciſe phyſical proceſs which takes place in that contraction? Cold and winter have been always deſcribed as *contracting*—heat and ſummer as *diſſolving* or *ſoftening*. The cold is ſaid to *warp the waters*, when it *contracts* them into the ſolid ſubſtance of ice, and ſuffers them no longer to continue in *a liquid* or *flowing* ſtate. Hence water is ſaid to *ſtop*—to be *bound*—to *come together*, and one * of the words to expreſs *ice*

however, to this note in the Appendix, he ſays, " That this " paſſage refers to the turbulence of the ſky, and the conſequent " agitation of the *ocean*, and not to the operation of froſt, may " be collected from our Author's having in *King John* deſcribed " ice as uncommonly ſmooth:

" 'To throw a perfume on the violet,
" 'To ſmooth the ice,' &c.

What *can* be the meaning of all this? If our Poet by *waters*, means the *ocean*; the word *warp* muſt certainly refer to any thing rather than to the operation of *froſt*. An Engliſh poet would not draw a familiar image from ſuppoſing among the effects of a *winter's wind* the freezing of the *ocean*. In ſhort, if *waters* mean OCEAN, every proof about *warp* not relating to *froſt* is " waſteful " and ridiculous exceſs."

* Such is the incomparable genius of the Greek language. The words are παγω & πηγνυω: the latter however (as every one knows) from this *general* ſenſe of *contracting* is itſelf become the appropriate term for the action of *freezing*. I imagine, however, that in the fragment of Archilochus, from which Horace borrowed the paſſage that I have quoted in the ninth Ode, this word

among

among the Greeks is derived from a verb which signifies to *compress* or *contract*. Every school-boy will immediately call to mind the common-place descriptions of Spring and Winter; in which expressions of this sort perpetually occur—the *solvitur* acris hiems—Gelu flumina *constiterint* acuto, &c. &c. He may perhaps likewise recollect the following passages:

Adstringit Scythico glacialem frigore pontum.
(Lucan. Pharsal. 1. 18. See too 5. 434.)

Pigrior *adstrictis* torpuit Hebrus aquis.
(Claudian. Præfat. ad Rapt. Proserp.)

Et *coit adstrictis* barbarus Ister aquis.
(Ovid. Epist. ex Pont. lib. 3. ep. 3. 26.)

It would be an idle task to accumulate the trite examples which relate to this subject; nor should we have thought it necessary to detail what is so ob-

ought to be taken in its metaphorical sense: the FLOWING *waters* are *warp'd*.

Υει μεν ο Ζευς, εν δ' ουρανω μεγας
Χειμων, ΠΕΠΑΓΑΣΙΝ δ' υδατων ΡΟΑΙ.

The first sense of *warp* in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary is to *contract* or shrivel. Under the third sense this passage of Shakspeare is quoted, where warp, he says, is "used to express the effect of "frost." Observe, that to denote the action of *turning* milk (which Dr. Johnson has touched upon in his note with his usual powers of explanation), words are used derived from the idea of *contracting—cogo—contraho—πηγνυω—curdle* (See Minshew sub voce *curdle*.) The word *turn* has no idea annexed to it but that of a simple change.

vious,

vious, had it not been ſo ſtrangely overlooked or rejected in the preceding interpretations. There is however one paſſage in *Horace*, which has much divided his Commentators, and which the reader of taſte will be pleaſed to ſee illuſtrated by two authorities from an Engliſh Claſſic.

Quod ſi bruma nives Albanis illinet agris,
Ad mare deſcendet vates tuus, & ſibi parcet,
Contractuſq; leget.
(Hor. Epiſt. lib. i. 7. v. 10, 11, 12.)

A man *throng'd up with cold.* (Pericles, 520.)

The *ſhrinking* ſlaves of *Winter.* (Cymbeline, 437.)

Theſe paſſages are completely parallel; and will determine the opinion of the reader reſpecting the diſputed ſenſe of *Contractus.*

165. "As friend remember'd not."] *Remember'd* for *remembering*, ſays Mr. Malone. Certainly not. If ingratitude conſiſts in one friend not *remembering* another, it ſurely muſt conſiſt likewiſe in one friend not *being* remem*ber'd by* another. So in the former line, "*benefits forgot*"—*by* our friend, or our friend for*getting* benefits, will prove him equally ungrateful.

168. "He that hath learned no wit by nature "nor art may *complain of good breeding*, or comes of "a very dull kindred."] By one Commentator it is read *groſs*, and by another *bad* breeding. Mr. Malone

Malone thinks it means—" may complain of a " good education, for being ſo inefficient, of ſo " little uſe to him." Dr. Johnſon is in doubt " whether the cuſtom of the language in Shakſ- " peare's time did not authoriſe this mode of " ſpeech, and make *complain of good breeding* the " ſame with *complain* of the WANT of *good breeding*." This is a mode of ſpeech common, I believe, to all languages; and the moſt ignorant might have taught Dr. Johnſon, that ſuch a mode of expreſſion occurred even before the time of Shakſpeare:

Εἰ' ἀρ' ὀγ' ευχωλης επιμεμφέται εἰθ' εκαλομβης.
(Il. i. 65.)

Whether he *complains* of the WANT *of prayers* or *of ſacrifices*.

170. " All the Pictures faireſt limn'd
Are but black to Roſalind."]

The old Copy has *faireſt linde*, which is the true reading. The Poet means, that the moſt beautiful *lines* or touches exhibited by art are inferior to the natural traits of beauty which belong to Roſalind.

170. " It is the right butter-women's *rate* to " market."] This is the emendation of Sir T. Hanmer, which Mr. Malone thinks is right. Dr. Grey propoſes *rant*: the old reading is *rank*, which Mr. Capell imagines to be " the *order* obſerved by " ſuch women; travelling all in one road with " exact intervals between horſe and horſe." The explanation

explanation of Mr. Capell will appear more forcible, if we conſider that on account of the badneſs of the roads in our Author's time the women muſt travel from their villages in the manner which is here deſcribed. Something of this ſort may be obſerved at preſent. Mr. Malone, as an addition to his note on this paſſage, thus remarks in the Appendix: "The following line in King Richard the "Third may be urged to ſhew that the familiar "image of the butter-woman's *horſe* going to mar-"ket was in our Author's thoughts:

But yet I run before my Horſe to market."

May not the ſame line be urged in confirmation of Mr. Capell's ſenſe, to ſhew that the image of travellers to market *ſucceeding* each other was likewiſe familiar to the thoughts of our Author? In ſhort, if *rate* conveys a ſenſe ſuitable to the occaſion, *rank* will certainly be preferable; as it expreſſes the ſame thing with an additional idea; and perhaps the very idea in which the chief force of the compariſon is placed. "The right Butter-women's "*rank* to market" means the *jog-trot rate* (as it is vulgarly called) with which Butter-women *uniformly* travel *one after another* in their road to market: in its application to Orlando's poetry, it means a *ſet* or *ſtring* of verſes in the *ſame coarſe cadence* and *vulgar uniformity of rythm.*

172. "Why ſhould this deſert *ſilent* be
For it is unpeopled? No;
Tongues

Tongues I'll hang on every tree,
That ſhall civil ſayings ſhow."]

Silent is the emendation of Mr. Tyrwhitt, and it has received the approbation both of Mr. Steevens and Mr. Malone. The old Copy reads "Why "ſhould this *deſert be?*" And Mr. Pope corrects it, "Why ſhould this *a* deſert be." "But although" (ſays Mr. Tyrwhitt) "the metre may be aſſiſted "by this correction, the ſenſe is ſtill defective; for "how will the *hanging of tongues on every tree* make "it leſs a deſert?" The old reading however, I believe, is genuine. Mr. Tyrwhitt is ſometimes loſt in the mazes of his own ſubtlety. Surely the ſame *metaphor* has power to *people* woods, which is able to afford them *ſpeech*.—Even Dr. Johnſon is on this point correct and perſpicuous. "This "deſert" (ſays he) "ſhall not appear *unpeopled*, "for every tree ſhall teach the maxims or inci- "dents of ſocial life."—If the metre ſhould be thought defective; *why* may be taken for one of our Poet's diſſyllables, as he has uſed *fire-fire*. (See Mr. Malone's Pref. 35.) Let the reader of taſte, who is uſed to the rythm of Shakſpeare, repeat the line in queſtion with a gentle pauſe upon *why*; and he will find no reaſon to reject it for deficiency of metre.

173. "Helen's Cheek, but not her heart;
"Cleopatra's Majeſty;
"*Atalanta's better part*;
"Sad Lucretia's Modeſty."]

There

There is no paſſage in Shakſpeare which has more embarraſſed his Commentators than this celebrated line, which enumerates among the perfections of a beauty *the better part of Atalanta.* Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that the *better part of Atalanta* "ſeems to have been her heels;" yet he is inclined to think that our Poet, though no deſpicable mythologiſt, has miſtaken ſome other character for that of Atalanta.—Dr. Farmer is of opinion, that her *better part* is her *wit*, that is, the *ſwiftneſs of her mind*; and Mr. Malone obſerves, that a paſſage in Marſton's *Inſatiate Counteſſe* might lead us to ſuppoſe that the *better part* of Atalanta was her *lips.* Mr. Tollet remarks, that "perhaps the poet means her "beauty and graceful elegance of ſhape, which he "would prefer to her ſwiftneſs;" but he afterwards aſks, whether *Atalanta's better part* may not mean "her virtue or virgin chaſtity *."

* I once was of opinion, that *better part* was a kind of proverbial phraſe, and that it was confined to ſome diſtinct and peculiar object; but I now find that it is uſed in the ordinary ſenſe which the words appear to convey, and that it receives different meanings according to the ſeveral modes of applying it. Theſe are the inſtances which I at preſent recollect.

But were I not the *better part* made mercy.
(The Duke to Oliver, 322.)

"My *better parts*
"Are all thrown down."
(133. I do not think that parts being in the plural ſhould be conſidered as a changing of the phraſe.)

The

The explication of Mr. Tollet is the only one, which affords any ſuitable ſenſe to this diſputed expreſſion; yet I am perſuaded that the genuine ſpirit of the image is yet perfectly unknown. The reader of taſte, who is ardent in the ſtudy of our Poet, will, I hope, be conſiderably gratified when I ſhall have placed before him the whole paſſage with a new vein of illuſtration; nor will he, I truſt, be of opinion that I have been too laboured or minute in the diſcuſſion of a principle, which refers not only to the preſent inſtance, but may be frequently applied with ſingular ſucceſs in the elu-

" Accurſed be that tongue that tells me ſo,
" For it hath cow'd my *better part* of man." (Macbeth, 433.)
[This is quoted by Mr. Malone.]

" And thou,——
" Art not a whit aſhamde (as farre as I can ſee)
" To caſt me of, when thou haſt cull'd the *better part* of me."
(*Romeus and Juliet*, vol. 10. 506. Juliet is here reproaching Romeus for leaving her after poſſeſſion.)

Better part is derived likewiſe from a paſſage in Scripture, of which ſenſe Mr. Whalley has produced an example in an old epitaph, which he imagines Mr. Steevens, as well as himſelf, may poſſibly have read in a country church-yard.

" Sarah's obedience, Lydia's open heart,
And Martha's care, and Mary's *better part*."

But it is ſomewhat aſtoniſhing, that neither Mr. Whalley himſelf, nor any of his brother Commentators, recollected the verſes written by *John Milton* to a *virtuous young lady*:

" The *better part* with Mary and with Ruth
" Choſen thou haſt." (Edit. Warton, pag. 341.)

cidation of Shakſpeare. It is well known and acknowledged, that our old Poets derived many of their alluſions and deſcriptions from *pictures and repreſentations in Tapeſtry**, which were then equally familiar to themſelves and to their readers. We muſt not therefore be aſtoniſhed if their imagery ſhould ſometimes be deficient in that *abſtraction of ſentiment*, which we have been ſo accuſtomed to admire in the delineations of other Poets; nor is it difficult to imagine, that their colourings would be often marked by ſome peculiar alluſions, which can now only be underſtood by conceiving, that the works of the Artiſt were ſtill preſent to the mind of the Poet, and that the operations of the fancy were controuled by the impreſſions of the eye. This obſervation, which is rigorouſly applicable to our ancient bards, *Chaucer*, *Gower*, and *Lydgate*, may be extended likewiſe with conſiderable truth to the Poets of ſucceeding times, and will afford the intelligent critic a very important principle in illuſtrating the writers of the ſixteenth century. It has

* Warton's Hiſt. of E. P. vol. ii. 215. See likewiſe vol. i. 209; and his Obſervations on the *Fairy Queen*, vol. i. p. 176-7, and vol. ii. p. 232. See too his Notes on Milton, p. 277.

In many caſes it is impoſſible to aſcertain whether tradition, the legend, or the picture, ſupplied the original materials. It is probable, that theſe popular repreſentations, which might be derived from the forgotten legends of one age, became themſelves the original ſources of the romances in another. The Bard of *Gray*, which was borrowed from a picture of *Raphael*, is itſelf the ſubject of another picture by *Weſt*.

been

been remarked by our Commentators, that Shakſpeare has himſelf borrowed many of his images from *prints**—*ſtatues*†—*paintings*‡—and *exhibitions in tapeſtry*; and we may obſerve, that ſome alluſions of this ſort are to be found in the play before us, and eſpecially in thoſe places which deſcribe the beauties of Roſalind§. There was however another

* See vol. iv. 122. viii. 579.

† Vol. iii. 204. x. 154. ix. 123.

‡ Vol. i. Part 2d, pag. 213. iii. 190.

§ " And as mine eye doth his *effigies* witneſs
" Moſt truly *limn'd* and living in your face." (166.)

" All the *pictures*, faireſt *lin'd*,
" Are but black to *Roſalind*." (170.)

" The quinteſſence of every ſprite
" Heaven would in *little** ſhow." (172.)
[* a miniature *portrait*.

" Of many faces, eyes, and hearts,
" To have the *touches** deareſt priz'd." (173.) [* *les trait*]

" I do remember in this ſhepherd-boy,
" Some lively *touches* of my daughter's favour." (224.)

The deſcription, which Phœbe afterwards gives us of Roſalind, if it be not *derived* from a picture, is at leaſt admirably calculated to ſupply the painter with a *ſubject*. (See *Malone*, Merchant of V. 44.)

" There was a pretty rendeſs in his lip;
" A little riper and more luſty red
" Than that mix'd in his cheek; 'twas juſt the difference
" Betwixt the conſtant red and mingled damaſk." (199)

This ſurely is too definite and preciſe to be ſuddenly formed by the fleeting powers of the imagination unfixed and unaſſiſted by any object.

reaſon why this peculiar vein of alluſion ſhould naturally abound in *dramatic* compoſitions, as the ſtage was not only covered with *arras* or *tapeſtry hangings*, but when that arras was faded or decayed, they were accuſtomed to adorn it (according to the expreſſion of Jonſon) with "freſh *pictures*." I have not the ſmalleſt doubt but that this practice ſuggeſted to Shakſpeare the idea in Hamlet of preſenting before the Queen the portraits of her two huſbands:

Look here upon this picture and on this,
The counterfeit preſentment of two brothers.

It is evident (as the Commentators have remarked) from the following words, "A ſtation "like the herald Mercury;" that theſe pictures, which are now produced on the ſtage as miniatures, were meant as full lengths, "being part of "the furniture of the Queen's cloſet;" and that the introduction of theſe miniatures is a modern innovation. Mr. Malone is of opinion, that when tragedies were acted, the ſtage was hung with black; and I am inclined to think in general that the ſtage was often furniſhed with thoſe pictures, which were ſomewhat ſuitable to the genius of the

"*Roſ.* His very hair is of the diſſembling colour.
"*Cel.* Something browner than Judas's*." (190.)

[* "Judas," ſays Mr. Steevens, "was conſtantly "repreſented in ancient *painting* or *tapeſtry* "with red hair and beard."

per-

performance. Let me venture likewiſe to conjecture, that poſſibly the ſubject of theſe pictures, and the repreſentations on theſe hangings, might be of ſuch a nature as to ſupply the place of that *dumb ſhew* which Mr. Warton* is ſurpriſed to find diſcontinued in the plays of Shakſpeare, and for the abſence of which he profeſſes himſelf unable to account. Let us now examine whether the preſent paſſage may not be illuſtrated by a principle which has been allowed univerſally to operate on our ancient Poets; and which has been proved in various inſtances to have acted on the imagination of Shakſpeare. I have always been firmly perſuaded, that the *imagery*, which our Poet has ſelected to diſcriminate the more prominent perfections of *Helen*, *Cleopatra*, *Atalanta*, and *Lucretia*, was not derived from the abſtract conſideration of their general qualities; but was caught from thoſe *peculiar traits* of beauty and character, which are impreſſed on the mind of him who contemplates their portraits. It is well known, that theſe celebrated heroines of romance were in the days of our Poet the favourite ſubjects of popular repreſentation, and were alike viſible in the coarſe hangings of the poor and the magnificent arras of the rich.—In the portraits of *Helen*, whether they were produced by the ſkilful artiſt, or his ruder imitator, though her face would certainly be deli-

* Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, vol. iii. 361.

neated as eminently beautiful, yet ſhe appears not to have been adorned with any of thoſe charms which are allied to *modeſty*; and we accordingly find that ſhe was generally depicted with a looſe and inſidious countenance, which but too manifeſtly betrayed the inward wantonneſs and perfidy of her heart. The following quotation from Don Quixote is ſingularly in point, as it will ſerve to ſhew us how *univerſally* the ſame expreſſions of faithleſs beauty were conſidered as characteriſtic of the portraits of Helen—" He was lodged in a low " chamber, to which certaine olde worne curtaines " of painted ſerge ſerved in lieu of tapiſtry hang- " ings, as commonly they uſe in country villages. " In one of the pieces might be ſeene painted by a " bungling and unſkilful hand the rape of Helen, " at what time her fond hardy gheſt ſtole her from " Menelaus. In another was the hiſtory of Dido *

* It muſt not be forgotten by the reader, that ſome *portrait* of this kind has likewiſe furniſhed our Poet with a very elegant ſpecimen of a *Poetical Picture:*

" In ſuch a night,
" Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
" Upon the wild ſea banks; and waft her love
" To come again to Carthage." (*Merchant of Venice*, 91-2.)

Our Commentators ſeem to be embarraſſed reſpecting the ſource from which this deſcription is derived. Mr. *Warton* ſuggeſts, that Shakſpeare might perhaps have taken it from ſome ballad on the ſubject; and Mr. *Steevens* very gravely obſerves, " This paſ- " ſage contains a ſmall inſtance out of many that might be brought " to prove that Shakſpeare was no reader of the *Claſſics*." I fear that

" and Æneas; ſhee on a high turret with a ſheet " making ſign unto her fugitive gheſt, who on the " ſea carried in a ſhip was running away from her. " Don Quixote obſerved in theſe two ſtories, that " Helen ſeemed not to be diſcontented with her " rape; for ſo much as ſhe *leered and ſmiled under* " *hand.* Whereas beauteous Dido ſeemed to trickle " down teares from her eyes as big as walnuts *."

(Shelton's Don Quixote, Part II. p. 480.)

With reſpect to the *Majeſty of Cleopatra*, it may be obſerved, that this notion is not derived from Claſſical authority, but from the more popular ſtore-houſe of legend and romance: for though indeed many inſtances of her *Majeſtic* appearance and conduct might be collected from the former ſource, yet I think that we ſhould not from thence be led to ſpeak familiarly of that quality, as the moſt pro-

that moſt of the *inſtances* relating to this ſubject, which have been produced as indiſputable proofs, are preciſely upon a level with the paſſage before us.

* I doubt not but that the idea of the eyes dropping *mill ſtones* (which is familiar to our ancient Poets) was ſuggeſted by the coarſe imitation of tears in tapeſtry and paintings. So our Author in *Troilus and Creſſida*, " *Pand.* Queen Hecuba laugh'd that her " *eyes* ran o'er." " *Cre.* With *mill-ſtones.*" (155.) And he again twice uſes this expreſſion in Richard III.

" Your *eyes drop mill-ſtones*, when fools' eyes drop tears." (486.)

" *Clar.* Bid Gloſter think on this, and he will *weep.*"
" 1ſt *Murd.* Ay, *mill-ſtones*; as he leſſon'd us to *weep.*" (496.)

minent and diſtinguiſhed part of her character. When our Poet had afterwards occaſion in his *Antony and Cleopatra* to delineate her portrait at full length from a Claſſical original, we do not find that the idea of her *Majeſty* is particularly inculcated. I infer therefore that the *familiarity* of this image was impreſſed both on the Poet and his reader from pictures and repreſentations in tapeſtry, which were the lively and faithful mirrors of popular romances.—*Atalanta*, we know, was conſidered likewiſe by our antient Poets as a celebrated beauty; and we may be aſſured therefore that her portraits were every where to be found*. From the paſſage in Pliny quoted by Mr. Tollet, we learn that there were two pictures at Lanuvium placed by each other of Helen and Atalanta, which were both painted by the ſame artiſt, and repreſented as eminently beautiful; though the charms of the latter were diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the former by the appearance of a *virgin* modeſty. Whether among the painters of after ages, it was cuſtomary thus to contraſt the diſſimilar beauties of Helen and Atalanta, I cannot determine: we know however that ſuch contraſts are familiar to the artiſts of every period, and the quotation which I have above produced from Don Quixote, may ſhew us, that in the moſt rude and imperfect pieces it was not unuſual to imitate the refinements of more ex-

* See a deſcription of her picture in the *Arcadia*, fol. 4. 1599.

quiſite

quiſite performances. Since the ſtory of *Atalanta* repreſents that heroine as poſſeſſed of ſingular beauty, zealous to preſerve her virginity even with the death of her lovers, and accompliſhing her purpoſes by extraordinary ſwiftneſs in running, we may be aſſured that the ſkill of the artiſt would be employed in diſplaying the moſt perfect expreſſions of *virgin purity*, and in delineating the *fine proportions and elegant ſymmetry of her perſon.*—"*Lucretia*" (we know) "was the grand example of conjugal fide-"lity throughout the Gothic ages;" and it is this ſpirit of unſhaken chaſtity, which is here celebrated under the title of *modeſty*. The epithet *ſad* is but ill calculated to repreſent the abſtract notion of *conjugal virtue*, and we may be aſſured therefore that it was forced upon the mind of our Poet from a very different impreſſion. I am aware however that *ſad* may ſignify in certain caſes (as Dr. Johnſon ſuppoſes it in the preſent) *grave* or *ſolemn*‡; yet even in this ſenſe the idea of ſomething *gloomy* or *unengaging* is, I believe, generally underſtood; and it is *certain* that the epithet cannot with any propriety be applied to the abſtract notion of that ſpecies of

‡ I am well aware of the ſeveral inſtances, in which *ſad* is uſed for *grave* or *ſolemn*; (ſee Old Plays, vol. ii. p. 177.) and I could illuſtrate by a *chronological* ſeries of quotations the various revolutions in the meaning of this *unfortunate* word. Its modern ſenſe in the phraſes SAD *dog*,—SAD *fellow*, &c. is, we ſee, preciſely oppoſite to its ancient acceptation. The word ſuffered mightily, I find, by the days of *Puritaniſm*.

beauty,

beauty, in which the charms of nature are rendered ſtill more attractive by the cheerful though compoſed graces of a genuine modeſty. I am perſuaded that the meaning of *ſad* in this paſſage is *ſorrowful* or *lamenting*, and that it was impreſſed on the imagination of our bard by the melancholy appearance which *Lucretia* commonly bore in her portraits and repreſentations *. Sir Philip Sidney in his *Defence of Poeſie* talks of "the conſtant *though* "LAMENTING *looke of Lucretia* †," as ſhe is exhibited in *paintings*; and in our Author's *Rape of Lucrece* the epithet *ſad* frequently occurs in the ſame ſenſe, and is often applied to LUCRETIA her-

* Every thing that we read in our ancient authors reſpecting *Lucretia*, appears to remind us of the ſource from which it is derived, and to point out how familiarly her picture or repreſentation is impreſſed on the mind of the writer. She ſeems to have been a common ſubject for engraving on ſeals. So in the *Twelfth Night* (pag 55). "By your leave, wax.—Soft; and the *impreſ-* "*ſure* her *Lucrece*, with which ſhe uſes to *ſeal*." She furniſhes likewiſe another image for the verſes contained in the letter:

"But ſilence, like a Lucrece knife,
"With bloodleſs ſtroke my heart doth gore."

Nay, ſo common were her portraits, that ſhe became the figure on the *Sign* of the King's Printer *Berthelette* in Fleet-ſtreet, who flouriſhed about the year 1540. (Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, iii. 416.) A cutt of her is ſometimes to be ſeen in his books. (See *Ames*, vol. i. pag. 416, &c.) Let me add likewiſe, that in our Author's Poem on this ſubject *Lucretia* is ſent for conſolation to a piece of *ſkilful painting*, which depicted "a thouſand lamentable "objects" in the Hiſtory of Troy.

† *The Defence of Poeſie*, fol. 237. Edit. 1599.

ſelf

ſelf in the ſeveral mournful occaſions of her affecting ſtory. In the following lines, which are taken from the above poem, we find the *ſadneſs* of her countenance combined with the graces of her *modeſty:*

"Her pity-pleading eyes are *ſadly* fix'd
In the remorſeleſs wrinkles of his face;
Her *modeſt* eloquence with ſighs is mix'd,
Which to her oratory adds more *grace.*"

(Page 119.)

—Let us ſuppoſe therefore that the portraits of theſe celebrated beauties, *Helen—Cleopatra—Atalanta* —and *Lucretia*, were delineated as I have above deſcribed—that in the days of Shakſpeare they continued to be the favourite ſubjects of popular repreſentation, and that conſequently they were familiarly impreſſed on the mind of the Poet and on the memory of his audience. Let us now inveſtigate what the bard, or the lover, under the influence of this impreſſion, would ſelect as the *better parts* of theſe celebrated heroines, which he might wiſh to be transferred to his own miſtreſs as the perfect model of female excellence. In contemplating the portrait of *Helen*, he is attracted only by thoſe charms which are at once the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and at the ſame time are the leaſt employed in expreſſing the feelings of the heart. He wiſhes therefore for that rich bloom of beauty, which glowed upon her *cheek*, but he rejects thoſe lineaments of her countenance which betrayed the

looſe

looſe inconſtancy of her mind—the inſidious ſmile and the wanton brilliancy of her eye. Impreſſed with the effect, he paſſes inſtantly to the cauſe. He is enamoured with the *better part* of the beauty of *Helen*; but he is ſhocked at the depravity of that *heart*, which was too manifeſtly exhibited by the worſe. To convince the intelligent reader, that *cheek* is not applied to *beauty* in general*; but that it

* Our Poet appears to have caught the idea of Roſalind's *cheek*, and of all the *graces* being united by nature in her perſon, from the following paſſage in the original novel:

" All in general applauded the admirable riches that *nature* " beſtowed on the face of Roſalind, for upon her *cheekes* there " ſeemed a battell between the *Graces*, who ſhould beſtow moſt " favours to make her excellent."—Her *cheeks* are again thus deſcribed:

Her *cheekes* are like the bluſhing cloude
That beautifies Auroraes face,
Or like the ſilver Crimſon ſhroud,
That Phœbus ſmiling lookes doth grace.

And again,

By thoſe ſweet *cheekes* where love incamped lies,
To kiſſe the roſes of the ſpringing yeere.

She is thus deſcribed in her character of *Ganimede*, " In his *cheekes* " the vermilion tincture of the roſe flouſhed upon natural ala- " blaſter, the bluſh of the morne and Lunae's ſilver ſhew were ſo " lively portrayed, that the Trojan that fills out wine to Jupiter, " was not half ſo beautiful." Our Poet has in this very play ſuppoſed the power of love to be ſeated in the *cheek*.

" *Silvius.* O dear Phœbe,
" If ever (as that ever may be near)
" You meet in ſome freſh *cheek* the *power of fancy*,
" Then ſhall you know the wounds inviſible
" That love's keen arrows make." (195.)

is

is here uſed in its appropriate and original ſenſe, we ſhall produce a very curious paſſage from one of our Author's Sonnets, by which it will appear that the portraits of Helen were diſtinguiſhed by the conſummate beauty which was diſplayed upon *her cheek*.

Deſcribe Adonis, and the **counterfeit* (**i.e. picture)*
Is poorly imitated after you.
On Helen's *cheek* all art of beauty ſet,
And you in Grecian tires are *painted* new.
(Sonnet 53.)

—In viewing the *portrait* of Cleopatra, we ſhould all naturally agree in admiring the ſtately air and majeſtic appearance of her perſon; though in the bare contemplation of her *character*, we ſhould not have equally concurred in ſpeaking familiarly of her majeſty as the moſt eminent and diſtinguiſhed of her qualities.—In ſurveying the portrait of *Atalanta*, and in reflecting on the character which it diſplayed, the lover would not find it difficult to ſelect the *better part* both of her mind and of her form, which he might wiſh to be transfuſed into the compoſition of his miſtreſs. He would not be deſirous of that perfection in her perſon, which contributed nothing to the gratification of his paſſion, and he would reject that principle of her ſoul which was adverſe to the object of his wiſhes. He would be enamoured with the fine proportions and elegant ſymmetry of her limbs; though his paſſion would

would find but little reaſon to be delighted with the quality of *ſwiftneſs*, with which that ſymmetry was connected.—He would be captivated with the bluſhing charms of unſullied virginity; but he would abhor that unfeeling coldneſs, which reſiſted the impulſe of love; and that unnatural cruelty which rejoiced in the murder of her lovers. —The Poet laſtly wiſhes for the Modeſty of the *ſad Lucretia*—that firm and deep-rooted principle of female chaſtity, which is ſo viſibly depicted in the *ſadneſs* of her countenance lamenting for its involuntary loſs; and which has rendered her through all ages the pride and pattern of conjugal fidelity. —Such then are the wiſhes of the lover in the formation of his miſtreſs, that the *ripe* and *brilliant beauties* of *Helen* ſhould be united to the *elegant ſymmetry* and *virgin graces* of *Atalanta*; and that this union of charms ſhould be ſtill dignified and ennobled by the *majeſtic mien* of *Cleopatra* and the *matron modeſty* of *Lucretia*.

Finally; it is extremely obſervable, and will indeed conſiderably confirm the diligent reader of our Poet in the truth of this new interpretation, that *alluſions to Pictures*, or at leaſt *terms*, which are on all hands acknowledged to be *derived from Painting*, are found to accompany the paſſage which is the ſubject of our preſent commentary *:

* The reader will not ſee the full force of this remark, till he has read the obſervations, which are annexed to theſe notes on the *Aſſociation of Ideas*.

But

But upon the faireſt boughs,
Or at every ſentence' end,
Will I Roſalinda write;
Teaching all that read, to know
The quinteſſence of every ſprite
Heaven would in *little* * ſhow.
Therefore Heaven nature charg'd
That one body ſhould be fill'd
With all graces wide enlarg'd:
Nature preſently diſtill'd
Helen's cheek, but not her heart;
Cleopatra's Majeſty;
Atalanta's better part;
Sad Lucretia's Modeſty.
Thus Roſalind of many parts
By heavenly ſynod was devis'd;
Of many faces, eyes, and hearts,
To have the *touches* † deareſt priz'd.

I will conclude this note by obſerving likewiſe what our Commentators appear not to have conſi-

* —in *little ſhow.*] The alluſion is to a miniature *portrait*: "The current phraſe in our Author's time was *painted in little.* (*Malone.*)

So *Hamlet.* "It is not very ſtrange; for my uncle is king of "Denmark, and thoſe, that would make mouths at him while "my father lived, give twenty, forty, fifty, an hundred ducats "a piece for his *picture in little.*" (Act II. S. ii. p. 268.)

† The *touches.*] The features; *les traits.* Johnſon.
I believe that *priz'd* is a word of this ſort.

dered,

dered, that our Poet, in forming this model of female excellence, has not ſhewn himſelf forgetful of that deſcription which he had before given us of Roſalind. She is repreſented as *more than common tall*, and on that account beſt qualified to aſſume the dreſs and appearance of a man.

Were it not better,
Becauſe that I am more than common tall,
That I did ſuit me all points like a man?
A gallant curtle-ax upon my thigh,
A boar-ſpear in my hand. (141.)

The Poet * therefore might very properly inveſt her with the majeſtic air of Cleopatra; and that figure, which was ſo well adapted to become the curtle-ax and the boar-ſpear, would naturally ſuggeſt to his recollection the manly though elegant

* Obſerve likewiſe, that in the deſcription which Phœbe gives of Roſalind, her *tallneſs*—*leg* and *cheek* are among the objects of Phœbe's admiration:

" He is not very *tall*, yet for his years he's *tall*:
" His *leg* is but ſo ſo; and yet 'tis well."
" There was a pretty redneſs in his lip;
" A little riper and more luſty red
" Than that mix'd in his *cheek*; 'twas juſt the difference
" Betwixt the conſtant red, and mingled damaſk." (199.)

This very preciſe diſcrimination between the ſhades of colour on the lip and the cheek will ſerve at once to confirm our hypotheſis reſpecting the *cheek of Helen*, and at the ſame time to point out the ſource from which it is itſelf derived.

ap-

appearance of Atalanta attired for the exercise of the course, or furnished with the dress and implements of the chase: We may observe, that in our ancient poets the huntress, and the *swift-footed* Atalanta, seem to have been confounded. As I consider the subject of this note to be intimately connected with a theory, which I propose afterwards to unfold, I have not hesitated to be thus minute and circumstantial in the explanation of this passage, that the reader might be at once possessed with a general * notion of a species of *indirect* allusion, which occurs perpetually in our ancient poets,

* In this note I have been barely able to give the reader a *general notion* of the subject: it would require and deserve a separate dissertation. It is from this source that our old writers were so intimately and *personally* acquainted with the illustrious characters in scripture. The very accurate description which the *venerable Bede* has given us of the ages, figures, beards, hair, &c. of the wise men, who brought their offerings to Christ, "is now "to be seen" (says Mr. Warton) "in the old pictures and popular "representations of the *wise mens' offerings.*" (2nd Dissertat. vol. 1.) We cannot produce a more curious and convincing instance of the ancient prevalence and familiarity of these allusions, than by shewing that they still remain in the quaint language of the vulgar. The phrases *Nazarene foretop* and *Maudlin drunk* (if we may believe the *Classical Dictionary*, 2nd. Edition) are to be referred to this origin. By the former indecent expression is denoted the foretop of a wig made in imitation of the hair of Christ as represented by *painters* and *sculptors*; and by the latter is meant one who is in that joyless state of uncomfortable intoxication as to resemble the tristful figure of Mary Magdalene, such as she was formerly represented in *paintings* and *tapestry*. There will be little reason to doubt the justness of this explanation when

and which, when duly underſtood, will afford us a new and uniform light in diſcovering the peculiar ſpirit of their deſcriptions, and the *aſſociating* principle of their imagery. In the *preſent* inſtance it will not, I truſt, be objected, that I have impoſed a meaning on the paſſage, which is too ample both for the words which convey it, and the occaſion which I have imagined to ſuggeſt it. The reader of taſte will not fail to remember, that the vigorous language of the poet will expreſs conciſely what he at once conceives richly; while the humble critic muſt be contented to *illuſtrate* by a long, a laboured, and a feeble commentary.

179. Not ſo; but *I anſwer you right painted cloth.*] This phraſeology, which Mr. Malone calls *ſingular*, is very common in Shakſpeare. I am aſtoniſhed that our commentators did not recollect a very pointed example in the preceding ſcene, "Nay but "the devil take mocking; *ſpeak ſad brow and true* "maid." So in Othello (523) "Drunk? And "*ſpeak parrot?* And ſquabble?" In the *Lover's Complaint* we have

"When he moſt burn'd in heart-wiſh'd luxury,
"He *preach'd pure maid*, and prais'd cold chaſtity."
Vol. x. p. 370.

it is recollected that in this very play we find a familiar alluſion to the "*brown hair of Judas.*" (190.) and in the *Merry Wives of Windſor* to the *yellow beard of Cain.* (283.) (See *Old Plays*, vol. iii. p. 198.)

184. ("I drave

184. " I drave my ſuitor from his mad humour " of love, to a *living* humour of madneſs.") " Dr. " Johnſon"(ſays Mr. Malone) " propoſes to read— " from his mad humour of love, to a *loving* humour " of madneſs; that is, from a *madneſs* that was *love*, " to a love that was *madneſs*. Dr. Farmer would " read—to a humour of *loving* madneſs." Mr. Malone himſelf imagines that a LIVING *humour of madneſs* is, " in our author's licentious language, " a humour of *living madneſs*; a mad humour that " operates on *the mode of living*; or, in other words, " and more accurately, a *mad humour of life*." Perhaps the following line from Othello may throw light on this paſſage.

Oth. Give me a *living* reaſon that ſhe's diſloyal.

(Act. 3. S. iii. p. 560.)

That is, give me a *direct*, *abſolute*, and *unequivocal* proof. Why then may not the *living* humor of madneſs mean a *confirmed*, *abſolute*, and *direct* ſtate of madneſs? This ſignification is eaſily deduced from the ſenſe which the original word bears in the phraſes of " Done or expreſſed to the *life*"—ad *vivum* expreſſum.

185. " Doth my ſimple *feature* content you?") *Feature* appears to have three ſenſes. " 1ſt. The " caſt and make of the face. 2d. Beauty in gene- " ral. 3d. The whole turn of the body." (See Appendix, 588. and vol. vii. page 484.) Out of innumerable inſtances take the following, which I have choſen as the moſt unequivocal:

John ſays to Hubert, referring to what he before called his " abhorr'd *aſpect*."

1. " Forgive the comment that my paſſion made
" Upon thy feature." (King John, 539.)

2. " Her grace, geſture, and beautie liked them all
" extremely, and made them account Don Fer-
" nando to be a man of little underſtanding,
" ſeeing he contemned ſuch *feature*." (Shelton's Don Quixote, part 1. 300.) (See too 405.) " Pues-
" tanta *belleza* deſechava." Tom. ii. p. 277. Ed. Bowles.)

3. " I that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
" Cheated of *feature* by diſſembling nature,
" Deform'd, unfiniſh'd." (Rich. III. 455.)

I cannot help obſerving, that in two inſtances quoted by Mr. Malone, as well as in the paſſage of Shakſpeare, *feature* is joined with *content*.

" I ſee then, artleſs *feature* can *content*."
(Daniel's Cleopatra, 1594.)

" My *feature* is not to *content* her ſight."
(Spaniſh Tragedy.)

This is not merely accidental. *Content* has a peculiar and appropriate ſenſe, and it marks the *gratification* which is derived from the attractions of *perſon* or of *ſex*. *Roſalind*, as it appears, alludes to this ſenſe in her addreſs to *Silvius*. " I will
" *content* you, if what pleaſes you *contents* you,
" and you ſhall be married to-morrow." (page 221). That is, I will *content* you by marrying you to a woman whoſe *beauty contents* you. In *Lodge's Euphues*,

Euphues, from which this play is derived, we have "able to *content* the eye with *beauty*."—*Horatio* ſays to *Belimperia* in the *Spaniſh Tragedy*, Act ii. (p. 145.)

"Now, Madam, ſince by favour of your love,
"Our hidden ſmoak is turn'd to open flame,
"And that with looks and words we feed our
"thoughts,
("Two chief *contents*) where more cannot be had."

We have the following paſſage likewiſe in *Romeo and Juliet*. (Act 1. S. 3.)

"Read o'er the volume of young Paris' face,
"And find delight writ there with Beauty's pen;
"Examine every married lineament,
"And ſee how one another lends *content*."

In the *Widow's Tears*, Eudora deliberating about taking a *huſband*, ſays,

"What might a wife widow reſolve upon this
"point now?
"*Contentment* is the end of all worldly beings."
(Old Plays, 6. p. 163.)

In the ſame play, *Tharſalio* (about whom ſhe is deliberating) requeſts of her "ſome meaſure of favour "from her ſweet tongue, or her ſweeter lips," "or "what elſe" (ſays he) "your good ladyſhip ſhall "eſteem more conducible to your divine *content-* "*ment*." (Id. p. 175.)

"Let the beſt joys of Hymen compaſs her,
"And her young huſband, my Eugenio,
"With full *content*."
(*Albumazar*, Old Plays, v. 7. p. 250.)

Annabella. " Oh, how theſe ſtol'n *contents*
" Would print a modeſt crimſon on my cheeks,
" Had any but my heart's delight prevail'd."
(*'Tis pity ſhe's a whore.*
Old Plays, vol. 8. p. 25.)

Bellanima. " Why would Phyſander
" Cut wedlock's gordian, and with looſer eyes
" Doat on a common wanton? What is pleaſure
" More than a luſtful motion in the ſenſe?
" The proſecution full of anxious fears,
" The end repentance. Tho' *content* be call'd
" The ſoul of action, and licentious man
" Propounds it as the reaſon of his life."
(*Microcoſmus*, Old Plays, 9. p. 148.)

I cannot help obſerving that this paſſage contains an additional confirmation of the ſenſe, in which *weaken* (" *waken* motion") is uſed in Othello, p. 461.

To " live in ſweet *contentment* with a wife," occurs in the *Grim Collier of Croydon.* (Old Plays, 11. p. 196.) and in the *Parſon's Wedding* (1664) by *Killigrew*, we have, " I would do as little to give " mine *content* as any ſhe in town." The traces of this ſenſe appear in the *Paradiſe Loſt*; and there is one very ſingular paſſage, which derives all its grace and delicacy from the latent alluſion to this *peculiar* ſignification. It is from hence that the heavenly viſion becomes, as it were, brighten'd with a ſmile by anticipating the object to which the thoughts of Adam were directed, and by rejoicing

at

at the capacity of happineſs, which was deſtined for the nature of man. Adam thus bewails his condition before the creation of Eve.

" In ſolitude
" What happineſs, who can enjoy alone,
" Or all enjoying, what CONTENTMENT find?
" Thus I preſumptuous; and the viſion bright
" As with a *ſmile more brighten'd* thus reply'd."
(B. 8. v. 364. &c. See B. 10. v. 973.)

187. " *Aud.* I am not a ſlut, tho' I thank the
" Gods I am *foul.*")

Sir Thomas Hanmer underſtands by *foul*, *coy* or *frowning*. Mr. Tyrwhitt thinks that *foul* is the ruſtic pronunciation for *full*; and adds (as it appears) with great gravity, that Audrey " was more " likely to *thank the Gods* for a belly-full than for " her being *coy* or *frowning*." Mr. Malone confirms Mr. Tyrwhitt's conjecture. What can be more manifeſt than that the humour of the paſſage (ſuch as it is) conſiſts in the equivocal ſenſe of *foul*, which in our poet's time not only ſignified what it does at preſent, but meant likewiſe *plain* or *homely*? It is frequently uſed in the latter ſignification in this play: " *Foul* is moſt *foul*, being *foul* to be a ſcoffer." (197.) That is, ſays Dr. Johnſon, " the ugly ſeem " moſt ugly, when though ugly they are ſcoffers."

193. " *Cor.* If you will ſee a *pageant* truly play'd,
" Between the pale complexion of true love
" And the red glow of ſcorn and proud diſdain,
" Go hence a little, and I ſhall conduct you,
" If you will mark it.")

This *pageant* of *love* ſeems to have been impreſſed on the mind of our poet. So in the *Midſummer Night's Dream*, *Puck* ſays to *Oberon*:

" Captain of our fairy band,
" Helena is here at hand;
" And the youth miſtook by me,
" Pleading for a *lover*'s fee;
" Shall we their fond *pageant* ſee?
" Lord, what fools theſe mortals be!

(Act. 3. S. 2. p. 494.)

Will the ſpeech of *Touchſtone* receive any illuſtration from theſe lines? " We, that are true lovers, " run into ſtrange capers; but as all is mortal in " nature, ſo is all nature in love mortal in folly." (152.) Perhaps it means, *all nature*—even we, the ſuperior intelligences of nature, when in *love*, are equal in folly to the ordinary race of mortals.

195. " What tho' you have *mo* beauty,
(" As, by my faith, I ſee no more in you
" Than without candle may go dark to bed)
" Muſt you be therefore proud and pitileſs?"

The old copy reads *no*, which Mr. Malone has changed into *mo*. This emendation is extremely inelegant, and totally oppoſite to our author's meaning. The ſpirit of the paſſage is well explained by *Mr. Capell*. The rejection of the negative makes " the poet" (ſays he) " a very bad reaſoner in the line that comes next to this ſentence, " and guilty of ſelf-contradiction in ſeveral others"—by " robbing him of a lively expreſſion, and a pleaſantry

" pleaſantry truly comick; for, as the ſentence " ſtands in the old copy, the conſequence that " ſhould have been from her *beauty*, he draws from " her *no beauty*, and extorts a ſmile by defeating " your expectation. This *no beauty* of Phœbe's is " the burden of all Roſalind's ſpeeches from hence " to her exit." Mr. Tollet likewiſe conſiders the old reading " as a humourous way of expreſſing " her little ſhare of beauty," though the inſtance which he produces is foreign to the purpoſe. Take an example in point from this very play. " Truly, " young gentlemen, *tho'* there was *no* great matter " in the ditty, yet the note was very *un*tuneable." (223.) So the nurſe in *Romeo and Juliet*, p. 86. " Romeo! no, not he; though his face be better " than any man's, yet his leg excels all men's; and " for a hand, and a foot, and a body,—*though* they " be not to be talk'd on, yet they are paſt com- " pare."

206. " *Roſ.* If you break one jot of your promiſe, " or come one minute behind your hour, I will " think you the moſt *pathetical* break-promiſe, and " moſt hollow lover.") Mr. Steevens obſerves, that the epithet occurs again in *Love's Labour loſt*, and with as little apparent meaning;—" moſt *pathetical* " nit." By *pathetical* break-promiſe, Mr. Malone thinks is meant a lover whoſe falſehood would moſt *deeply affect* his miſtreſs. *Pathetical*, in its firſt ſenſe, means *full of* PASSION and SENTIMENT. In a ludicrous ſenſe, a *pathetical break-promiſe* is a *whining*, *canting*,

taming, promiſe-breaking ſwain. Our poet, perhaps, caught this word from the novel, to which he is indebted for his play. The novelift is ſpeaking of *Phœbe*, and *Silvius*, or *Montanus*. " But ſhee mea-
" ſuring all his paſſions with a coy diſdaine, and
" triumphing in the poore ſhepheard's *pathetical*
" humors, &c." *(Lodge's Euphues.)* *Pathetical nit*, in *Love's Labour loſt*, is ſpoken by *Coſtard* of *Armado's* page, and means *a little creature full of life, ſpirit, and wit.*

" And his page o't'other ſide, that handful of wit!
" Ah! heavens, it is a moſt *pathetical nit!*"
(Act 4. S. 1.)

Armado himſelf applies this word to the *lively* ſayings of his page, " Sweet invocation of a child!
" moſt pretty and *pathetical.*" (Act 1. S. 2.)

In the *Widows Tears* we have, " Theſe are ſtrange
" occurrents, brother, but pretty and *pathetical.*"
(Old Plays, v. 6. p. 181.)

In a quotation produced by Mr. Malone on another occaſion, we have the title of Naſhe's celebrated pamphlet, as it appeared in the firſt edition. " Pierce Pennileſſe, his ſupplication to the Divell,
" deſcribing the over-ſpreading of vice and ſup-
" preſſion of vertue. Pleaſantly interlaced with
" variable delights, and *pathetically* intermixt with
" conceipted reproofes."
(Malone's Hiſt. of the Stage, p. 133.)

219. " *Roſ.* Know of me then (for now I ſpeak to ſome purpoſe), that I know you are a gentleman of

" of good conceit: I ſpeak not this, that you ſhould " bear a good opinion of my knowledge, inſomuch " I ſay, I know you are.") This thought we find in Hamlet.

" *Oſrick.* You are not ignorant of what excel- " lence Laertes is.—

" *Hamlet.* I dare not confeſs that, leſt I ſhould " compare with him in excellence; but to know a " man well, were to know himſelf."

221–2. " I hope it is no diſhoneſt deſire, to de- " ſire to be a *woman of the world.*") " *To go to the* " *world* (ſays Mr. Steevens) is to be married." So in *Much ado about Nothing:* " Thus (ſays Beatrice) " every one *goes to the world* but I." The phraſe again occurs in *All's well that ends well* (372.) " But " if I may have your ladyſhip's good-will *to go to* " *the world.*" To theſe inſtances, which our commentators have noticed, add the following from John Florio's *Second Frutes*, p. 29.

P. Why? is it ſo great a ſinne?

A. Yea, Sir, to viſite women.

P. Yea, *worldly women.* Si le donne del mondo.

A. Be not all *women of the world?* Tutte le donne, non ſono del mondo.

P. Yes, Sir, but yet not all *worldly.* Signor ſi, ma non tutte mondane.

222. " It was a lover, and his laſs,
" With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
" That o'er the green corn-field did paſs,
" In the ſpring time; the only pretty *rank* time,

" When

" When birds do ſing, hey ding a ding, ding;
" Sweet lovers love the ſpring.

II.

" Between the acres of the rye
" With a hey, &c.
" Theſe pretty country folks would lie,
" In ſpring time, &c.")

The old copy reads *rang* time. Dr. Johnſon " frolicks in conjecture," and reads *rank*. Mr. Pope reads *ſpring*, and Mr. Steevens propoſes *ring* time, that is, the apteſt time for *marriage*. I fear that the latter reading does not perfectly coincide with the ſpirit of the context. Mr. Malone imagines that the paſſage does not deſerve much conſideration; though I cannot diſcover what " exquiſite reaſon" he can have for thus devoting it to neglect and obſcurity.—Why may not *rang* time be written for *range* time, and the *only pretty range time* will then ſignify the only *pleaſant* time for *ſtraying* or *ranging* about?

There is little reaſon to doubt the truth of this explanation. The ſpelling of the words is not to be regarded in our ancient writers. The term *ranging* is particularly applied to *archery*; and from thence it is transferred to the preſent ſignification. (See *Evans' Old Ballads*, vol. 1. *paſſim*).

AN

AN ATTEMPT

TO

EXPLAIN AND ILLUSTRATE

VARIOUS PASSAGES

OF

SHAKSPEARE,

ON

A NEW PRINCIPLE OF CRITICISM,

DERIVED FROM

MR. LOCKE'S DOCTRINE

OF

THE ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS.

reasoning

AN ATTEMPT

&c. &c. &c.

THE *Aſſociation of Ideas* is a fruitful and popular theme in the writings of metaphyſicians; and they have ſupplied us with innumerable examples, which prove at once the extent and the activity of its influence. They have taught us that our modes of reaſoning, our habits of life, and even the motions of our body, are affected by its energy; and that it operates on the faculties by a kind of faſcinating controul, which we ſometimes cannot diſcover, and which generally we are unable to counteract. The conſideration, however, of this doctrine (curious and extenſive as it may appear) has commonly been confined to the admirers of metaphyſical reſearches; nor has the theory, I believe, ever been ſyſtematically diſcuſſed as a point of taſte, or as a ſubject of criticiſm. We have ſeen the queſtion totally exhauſted, as it refers to the general powers of the underſtanding, and the habitual exerciſe of the reaſoning

reaſoning faculty; but we may juſtly be aſtoniſhed that the effects of this principle ſhould never have been inveſtigated, as it operates on the *writer in the ardor of invention*, by impoſing on his mind ſome * remote and peculiar vein of language, or of imagery. If, in the ordinary exertions of the underſtanding, the force of ſuch an aſſociation has been found ſo powerful and extenſive, it may ſurely be concluded, that its influence would predominate with abſolute authority over the vigorous workings of a wild and fertile imagination. In the pages of the poet, therefore, may we expect to be ſupplied with the moſt curious and abundant materials for the diſcuſſion of this principle; and in none can we hope to find ſuch frequent and ſingular examples of its effect, as may probably be diſcovered by the diligent reader in the writings of Shakſpeare.

By the *aſſociating principle* I do not mean (as it appears to be underſtood by ſome metaphyſicians) that faculty of the underſtanding, by which, on all occaſions, the chain of our ideas is generated and preſerved; nor, as referred to the genius of the poet, do I mean that active power, which paſſes rapidly

* "Ideas, that in themſelves are not at all of kin, come to be "ſo united in ſome men's minds, that it is very hard to ſeparate "them; they always *keep in company*, and the one no ſooner at "any time comes into the underſtanding, but its *aſſociate* appears "with it; and if they are more than two which are thus united, "*the whole gang* always inſeparable ſhew themſelves together."

(Locke's Eſſay, B. 2. C. 33. §. 5.)

through

through a variety of ſucceſſive images, which diſcovers with ſo wonderful an acuteneſs their relations and dependencies; and which combines them with ſuch exquiſite effect in all the pleaſing forms of fiction and invention. In this indefinite and unlimited ſenſe, the *aſſociation of ideas*, when applied to the general operations of the mind, expreſſes little leſs than the whole arrangement of the reaſoning principle, and as referred to the workings of imagination muſt ſignify all the embelliſhments of eloquence, and all the graces of poetry.

In the theory of Mr. Locke, by the term *aſſociation* is *not* underſtood the combination of ideas *naturally* connected with each other; for theſe (as he obſerves) "it is the office and the excellency of our "reaſon to form and preſerve in that union and "correſpondence, which is founded on their pecu-"liar beings." On the contrary, it is underſtood to expreſs the combination of thoſe ideas, which have *no* natural alliance or relation to each other, but which have been united only by chance, or by cuſtom. Now it is obſervable that no taſk can be impoſed on the underſtanding, of greater difficulty than to ſeparate ideas thus accidentally combined; as the mind is commonly paſſive in admitting their original formation, and often totally unconſcious of the force and principle of their union.

In the application of this theory to the ſubject of the preſent enquiry, the definition of the term *aſſociation* might remain unaltered; though (as it may well

be imagined) there will not appear to be the ſmalleſt reſemblance between the illuſtrations which have been uſually produced to deſcribe its effect in the one caſe, and thoſe various inſtances which I now propoſe to lay before the reader as new and curious examples of its exiſtence in the other *.

* Though the examples of this *aſſociating principle* may bear no reſemblance to each other, yet the effects of it in both caſes will be often extremely ſimilar. As the aſſociation ariſes from a circumſtance generally irrelative, and ſometimes totally oppoſite to the ſubject itſelf, we ſhall be induced perhaps to ſmile at the ludicrous combinations which are frequently formed on theſe occaſions. Every one calls to mind Mr. Locke's ſtory of the gentleman, who had learned to dance in a room where an old trunk was part of the furniture: "The idea," ſays Mr. Locke, "of this remarkable "piece of houſehold ſtuff had ſo mixed itſelf with the turns and "ſteps of all his dances, that though in that chamber he could "dance excellently well, yet it was only whilſt that trunk was "there; nor could he perform well in any other place, unleſs that, "or ſome ſuch other trunk, had its due poſition in the room." (§ 16.) Mr. Locke adds, that ludicrous as this aſſociation may appear, "there are very few inquiſitive perſons who read this, who "have not met with accounts, if not examples, of this nature, "that may parallel, or at leaſt juſtify this." The experience of every moment is pregnant with ſuch examples. He who in the voice and language of converſation, in a walking or a ſitting poſture, is extremely voluble and perſpicuous, becomes ſlow and embarraſſed, when the aſſociation is broken by a change of thoſe circumſtances, with which his volubility is uſually connected. The ſame perſon, when he is ſtanding upright without motion, and delivering even the ſame opinion in a continued ſtrain, and with an elevated voice, at once loſes all facility in language, and every idea on the ſubject appears ſuddenly to have deſerted him. The reader, who is not accuſtomed to the forms of public ſpeaking, may

Though I am ſtrongly impreſſed likewiſe with the truth of the well-known maxim that *to define is*

may eaſily be convinced of this fact, and conſequently of the great power of aſſociation, by inſtantly riſing from his ſeat, and haranguing to himſelf in the manner that I have juſt deſcribed, on any ſubject which he may chance beſt to underſtand, and which he diſcuſſes in familiar converſation with the utmoſt readineſs and perſpicuity. He will find, if I am not miſtaken, that his oratory is equally deſtitute of ſenſe and of language. It is extremely curious to obſerve a celebrated ſpeaker in private converſation, and in public debate, as he riſes in the former, and ſinks in the latter, by engrafting on the one the ſtyle and manner, which are appropriate to the other. We may there trace out the gradations of volubility, as the ſeveral circumſtances, that compleat the aſſociation in both caſes, are increaſed or diminiſhed. To this theory, perhaps, a very curious and celebrated fact ought, in ſome degree, to be referred. I mean that the moſt eminent orators in the profeſſion of the law, when they have attempted to diſplay their talents on the theatre of the Houſe of Commons, are generally found to be inadequate and unſucceſsful. The eloquence, which appeared ſo luminous at the bar, ſhines darkly in the ſenate; not, indeed, with the beams of departed ſplendor, but with the dimneſs of original obſcurity.

Baſe and unluſtrous as the ſmoky light
That's fed by ſtinking tallow.

A portion of this inferiority may be explained from the principles of our theory. The aſſociations of the bar have been ſo long connected in the mind of the orator with the happieſt effuſions of his eloquence, that, when this union is deſtroyed, he becomes totally unable to produce thoſe ſpecimens of his ſkill, which, on other occaſions, he has been found ſucceſsfully to exhibit. It muſt be added, likewiſe, that a removal of theſe mechanical aſſiſtances, and a compariſon with that genuine eloquence, which is enriched by the reſources of intellect, will diſcover a ſtill more important

 reaſon

dangerous, and fully ſenſible that it is almoſt impoſſible to deſcribe with preciſion at one view every caſe to which the queſtion may be extended; yet I am ſtill deſirous of attempting a plain and conciſe definition of the *general* principle in its *peculiar* application to the object of my enquiry. I define therefore the power of this *aſſociation* over the genius of the poet, to conſiſt in ſupplying him with words and with ideas, which have been ſuggeſted to the mind by a principle of union unperceived by himſelf, and independent of the ſubject, to which they are applied. From this definition it follows, 1ſt. That as theſe words and ſentiments were prompted by a cauſe, which is concealed from the poet, ſo they contain no *intentional* alluſion to the ſource from whence they are derived; and 2ndly, That as they were forced on the recollection of the writer by ſome accidental concurrence not neceſſarily dependent on the ſenſe or ſpirit of the ſubject, ſo they have no neceſſary reſemblance in this ſecondary application to that train of ideas, in which

reaſon for this decided inferiority, and may ſerve more fully to inform us why the orator ſhould ſeem rather to be unable than unfortunate; not as if his powers were ſuddenly obſcured, but rather as if they never had been apparent. Every one acknowledges and laments that deplorable ravage on the finer faculties of the mind, which a continuance in the ſtudy and practice of the law has been found almoſt univerſally to produce: as the exceptions are few, ſo they are illuſtrious.---For my own part, I ſeem to bid adieu for ever to the man of genius, when he conſigns himſelf to the glories of the law.

they originally exiſted. We might thus perhaps arrange in a more ample yet inadequate manner, the principal objects of the general definition; though the examples only will enable us to underſtand the force and propriety of the arrangement.

1. It will often happen that a certain word, expreſſion, ſentiment, circumſtance, or metaphor, will lead the writer to the uſe of that appropriate language, by which they are each of them diſtinguiſhed, even on occaſions where the metaphor is no longer continued, where there is no alluſion intended to the circumſtance, nor is there any ſenſe conveyed under this language, which bears a peculiar reference to the words or ſentiments that excited it. It is merely accidental, that the imagery, in whoſe ſervice the language thus ſuggeſted is employed, has any affinity to the ſubject from which it is borrowed. Now, as it is the buſineſs of the critic to diſcover and eſtabliſh the original language of the author, and to reject what is ſometimes called the *improved* text of an *ingenious* commentator, we ſhall inſtantly perceive, that from this principle may probably be derived a very important canon for the confirmation of diſputed readings, which have perhaps been too haſtily condemned, as quaint, remote, or unintelligible. If the diſcerning critic ſhould diſcover that the train of thought, which had juſt occupied the attention of the writer, would naturally conduct him to the uſe of this controverted expreſſion, we ſhould certainly have little difficulty

in admitting the reading to be genuine, even though it had before appeared to us under a queſtionable ſhape, from the ſingular mode in which it was applied. On an art not capable of demonſtration, ſurely no principle can be engrafted more ſure and infallible than that, which is derived from ſome acknowledged powers in the underſtanding, rouſed and controlled as they are by an active and a regular influence.

2. Certain terms containing an equivocal meaning, or ſounds ſuggeſting ſuch a meaning, will often ſerve to introduce other words and expreſſions of a ſimilar nature: This ſimilarity is formed by having in ſome caſes a coincidence in ſenſe, or an affinity ariſing from ſound; though the ſignification, in which they are really applied, has never any reference and often no ſimilitude to that, which cauſed their aſſociation.

3. The remembrance of a ſimilar phraſeology, of a known metaphor, or of a circumſtance, *not* apparent in the text, will often lead the writer into language or imagery derived from theſe ſources; though the application may be ſometimes totally different from the meaning and ſpirit of the original.

4. An impreſſion on the mind of the writer, ariſing from ſomething which is frequently preſented to his ſenſes, or which paſſes within the ſphere

ſphere of his ordinary obſervation, will ſupply him with the union of words and ſentiments, which are not neceſſarily connected with each other, and which are combined only from the powerful influence of external impreſſions on the faculties of the underſtanding.

Theſe objects may be general, and therefore equally apparent to the obſervers of every period; but the more curious examples of this nature will be derived from thoſe impreſſions which are peculiar to the country, the age, and the ſituation of the writer. Here likewiſe we are ſtill to underſtand, that as theſe combinations were not formed by the invention, but forced on the fancy of the poet, he is totally unconſcious of the effect and principle of their union. This then is a portion of criticiſm, to which the diligence of commentators has never, I believe, been ſyſtematically applied.—They have exhauſted the abundance of their knowledge in diſcovering the *direct*, though ſometimes perhaps obſcure alluſions, which the poet has *intentionally* made to the cuſtoms of his own age, and to the various vices, follies, paſſions, and prejudices, which are the pointed objects of his ſatire or his praiſe. But the commentators have not marked thoſe *indirect* and *tacit* references, which are produced by the writer with *no* intentional alluſion; or rather they have not unfolded thoſe trains of thought, alike pregnant with the

materials *peculiar* to his age, which often prompt the combinations of the poet in the wildeſt exertions of his fancy, and which conduct him, unconſcious of the effect, to the various *peculiarities* of his imagery or his language. To illuſtrate paſſages which are dictated by a train of thoughts abounding with theſe materials, the critic muſt exert the ſame knowledge in the phraſeology and cuſtoms belonging to the age of his author, which he employed in the explanation of *direct* and *intentional* alluſions; as they alike contain the forgotten circumſtances of a remote period, and differ only in the mode by which theſe circumſtances are preſented. As the poet indeed riſes in genius, as he advances to the rank of that ſelect and exalted band, "who are not for an age, but for all time," it is certain that his attention will be proportionally abſtracted from the fleeting topics of his own period and the minute concerns of his peculiar ſituation: He will perhaps ſtudiouſly avoid all occaſions of ſatire on the characters of his age, and all *direct* alluſions to the occurrences before him.—His pictures of nature and of life will be drawn from broad and general views of our condition; from ſcenes to which the eye of every age is witneſs, and from thoſe paſſions and affections of men, which have been perpetually found to amuſe or agitate our being. Still however, the ſecret energy of local influence will continue to operate on his mind: His modes of conception will be ſtill affected by

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the ideas, which were moſt familiar to the habits of his life. In the fictions, the thoughts, and the language of the poet, you may ever mark the deep and unequivocal traces of the age in which he lived, of the employments in which he was engaged, and of the various objects which excited his paſſions or arreſted his attention. Nothing therefore is wanting but the ſagacity and diligence of the critic to diſcover and illuſtrate the examples, in which theſe effects may be evidently traced; and the reader will immediately acknowledge, that the principles of this theory are capable of affording a conviction, which the art of criticiſm cannot of itſelf be expected to produce. To the ordinary reſources of the critic we have applied an additional confirmation, derived from the moſt indubitable principle in the doctrine of metaphyſics.

As the writers of one period may be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of another, by *direct* references to the cuſtoms of the age in which they lived; ſo they may more certainly be diſcriminated by a minute inveſtigation of theſe *indirect* and *involuntary* alluſions. And here we ſhall eaſily underſtand, that this part of our theory may be applied with ſingular ſucceſs, to decide on a very important queſtion, which has been often agitated in the republic of letters. What ſubject has more embarraſſed the critics, than to determine on the merits of a cauſe, in

in which it is affirmed on the one ſide, that a certain compoſition was to be referred to an author of a diſtant period, and contended on the other, that it is nothing but the production of a modern forger, who has endeavoured to imitate the language and to adopt the cuſtoms of the age in which his imaginary writer was ſuppoſed to have exiſted. When the various modes, by which queſtions of this kind have been uſually tried, are found to be inadequate, we may confidently reſort to the preſent theory as a ſure and infallible touchſtone. If the traces of modern phraſeology ſhould be apparent in the compoſition, this may certainly have proceeded from the indiſcreet forgery of a modern *author*, but it may likewiſe be aſcribed to the ignorance, the raſhneſs, or the negligence of a modern *tranſcriber*. If the ſtyle of ſuch a compoſition ſhould be thought to poſſeſs the excellencies of a more advanced and cultivated period; it is certain that he, who imitates the writings of a former age, may incautiouſly adorn his performance with the graces of the preſent; yet we muſt likewiſe remember that the exertions of an original genius are not bounded within the limits of his own age, and that the knowledge of ſucceeding generations has ſometimes taught us only to underſtand and admire the progreſs of a ſingle being, who has himſelf begun and ended the career, who at once conceived and conſummated his art. It was reſerved for the knowledge

age,

of the preſent age, to diſcover that Shakſpeare has enriched and ennobled our poetry with new forms of language, rythm, fiction, and imagery, which we know that he firſt invented, and believe that he has finally completed. If again there ſhould appear in this diſputed compoſition, direct and pointed alluſions to the cuſtoms and manners of a certain age, theſe indeed might very juſtly be attributed to an author of that period; but we muſt ſtill be mindful that they might likewiſe have fallen within the knowledge of a recent forger; and therefore may be equally conſidered as the production of a modern writer. We ſee therefore, that with the *preſent* reſources of criticiſm, the arguments on a diſputed queſtion of this nature may be equally balanced, and that the judgment may reſt ſuſpended in doubt and uncertainty. Our conviction, however, would be immediate and invincible, if we ſhould diſcover in this queſtionable compoſition, the manners and circumſtances of a diſtant age, not indeed *directly* and *immediately* delineated by the *intention* of the writer, but apparent only in the *ſtyle* of his deſcriptions, and in the *colouring* of his ſentiments, his thoughts, or his language. For what can exceed the evidence ariſing from a principle, which ſhall conduct us even to the very mind of the writer, and diſcover to us the cauſes and effects of its internal operation, unknown even to himſelf; which ſhall exhibit to us the train of his ideas impregnated with the

the objects peculiar to his age, and which ſhall enable us, when we again review the compoſition itſelf, to mark the deep and diſtinct traces of the *ſame ideas*, though under a *new modification*, with all the kindred peculiarities of the original impreſſion. As this ſubtle ſpecies of metaphyſical forgery has never yet been attempted or conceived *, we ſhould pronounce with the moſt perfect confidence, that the writings which are thus marked with the impreſſions of a diſtant age, were certainly *not* the productions of modern invention.

Though I do not think that the effects of theſe *ideal forms*, which are appropriate to every age, will ever be ſucceſsfully repreſented by the moſt conſummate maſter in the art of imitation, yet I cannot but imagine, that they might be inveſtigated and deſcribed with ſufficient accuracy for the purpoſes of criticiſm, by the ſagacity of an intelligent enquirer. From a minute ſtudy of the genius of a certain age, its language and its progreſs in the arts of civil ſociety, from a knowledge of the more general objects and occurrences of domeſtic and

* This argument is fallacious, if the poems under the name of Rowley, are the productions of Chatterton. In this compoſition, the ſpecies of metaphyſical forgery, which I have deſcribed, has been conceived, attempted, and ſucceſsfully executed. I find in theſe poems all the effects of an *ancient mind*, which my theory had taught me to expect.

public

public life, its purſuits, pleaſures, and opinions—from an accurate enquiry into the character and ſituation of the author himſelf; a judicious critic might perhaps conjecture with conſiderable probability, what would be the effect, which theſe impreſſions, continually working on the mind, would neceſſarily produce on the compoſition of the writer. Among the various circumſtances, which might be ſelected on this occaſion, there are two particulars eminently diſtinguiſhing the preſent time from the age of Shakſpeare and the periods preceding, which muſt operate with ſingular effect on the genius of the poet, as they are connected with the great reſources of his art, with the colourings of deſcription and the variety of invention: I mean the univerſal cuſtom in thoſe days of covering the walls of their chambers with arras or tapeſtry hangings, which repreſented the celebrated ſtories of ancient or modern times; and the frequent exhibition of maſques, pageants, and proceſſions *. In theſe wild and motley ſpectacles, the illuſtrious perſonages of hiſtory, romance, and mythology; the tales and fictions of every period, whether they were of Grecian, Gothic, Roman, Saracen, or Chriſtian origin; the creatures of the imagination and the living characters of the world, were all blended and confounded by the licentious fancy or

* There is no reader of taſte, who will not on this occaſion be reminded of the *Dialogue on the age of Elizabeth.*

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the ignorance of the inventor. The reader will inſtantly perceive that theſe muſt influence with conſiderable energy the imagination of the poet; as the former will impart to his deſcriptions certain traits of a preciſe and definite colouring, which are adventitious and accidental, rather than general and characteriſtic, which belong rather to the impreſſions of the eye, than to thoſe abſtract and univerſal conceptions that are formed by the contemplation of the mind: The latter will enrich the ſtores of his fancy with wild and original combinations, with a ſplendid train of lively and various imagery, and above all with the moſt ample materials for allegorical fictions and perſonified agencies. To theſe objects, ſtriking and familiar as they would be to the eye of an obſerver, we may not perhaps frequently diſcover *direct* and *immediate* alluſions in the writings of a bard, whoſe powers enabled him to range over the various ſcenery of univerſal poetry: he would find little reaſon to be gratified with the coarſe or inadequate repreſentations of the tapeſtry; and he would be often ſhocked at the motley abſurdity of the pageant; ſtill however, they would engrave upon his mind a deep and laſting impreſſion; of which the effects may be perpetually traced by the obſerving critic, when the poet himſelf is totally unconſcious of this predominating influence. Of the effects produced by the former, I have given a general

view

view in my remarks on the *better part* of *Atalanta*; and I have taken occaſion in the following pages to introduce certain obſervations on the power of the latter.

I ſhall now proceed to the *examples* themſelves, which are intended to illuſtrate or confirm the theory of this aſſociating principle. I have only to requeſt the reader that they may not be haſtily peruſed, but diligently ſtudied; as the traces of ſo ſubtle an influence will often be inviſible to the haſty glance of a ſuperficial obſerver, though they will be apparent to a more careful view in diſtinct and unequivocal characters. I muſt again ſuggeſt to the reader, that he will be frequently induced to wonder or to ſmile at the minute and even ridiculous combinations, which have been thus impoſed on the mind of the poet, and which are able to deceive and controul the moſt acute and powerful underſtanding. I have been deſirous from various motives, to confine within theſe narrow limits, the preſent diſſertation, which might eaſily have been extended to a more ample form, and connected with other branches of critical enquiry; and I have only to add, that if the enſuing pages ſhould not convey to the reader all the conviction, which they might be expected to afford; he has only to object that the author has been unfortunate in the proofs, not unfounded in the principles. It is univerſally acknow-

acknowledged that such an influence exists, nor can it be doubted that it must thus operate on the compoſition of the poet. I may therefore at leaſt aſſume the merit of opening a new path to the reſearches of the critic, and of ſupplying a future theme of inveſtigation to a more ſagacious or a more diligent enquirer.

THE firſt example, which I ſhall produce, is the very paſſage which originally led me to the preſent enquiry.—In *Timon of Athens*, when Timon has retired into the woods, Apemantus thus upbraids him with the contraſt of his paſt and preſent condition:

" What, think'ſt
" That the bleak air, thy boiſterous *chamberlain*,
" Will put thy *ſhirt* on *warm?* Will theſe MOIST
" trees,
" That have outliv'd the eagle, page thy heels,
" And ſkip when thou pointſt out?"
(Act IV. S. iii. p. 100.)

Sir Thomas Hanmer for *moiſt* reads very elegantly, ſays Dr. Johnſon, *moſs'd*. Mr. Steevens confirms the emendation by examples; and Mr. Malone believes it to be the true reading. I agree with our Commentators, that *moſs'd* is a more elegant epithet, and at the ſame time better calculated to expreſs the antiquity of trees *that have outliv'd the eagle*. It is certain however that *moiſt* is not altogether deſtitute of force and propriety; as in many parts of old and rotten trees, a kind of *moiſt* exſudation is often to be ſeen, though perhaps other parts may be dry and withered by age. If therefore I can ſhew with extreme probability, from ſome acknowledged principle in the mind, why this peculiar word might be ſuggeſted to our Poet, it ſurely ought to be conſidered as a valuable touch-ſtone in the Art of Criticiſm, of which it is certainly the buſineſs to diſcover and aſcertain what

the author really *has* written, and not what he *ought* to have done.—The reader then is to be informed, that *warm* and *moiſt* were the appropriate terms in the days of Shakſpeare for what we ſhould now call an *air'd* and a *damp* ſhirt. So *John Florio* (*Second Frutes*, 1591.) in a dialogue between the maſter *Torquato*, and his ſervant *Ruſpa*.

"*T.* Diſpatch and give me a *ſhirt?*
"*R.* Here is one with ruffes.
"*T.* Thou dolte, ſeeſt thou not how *moyſt* it is?
"*R.* Pardon me, good Sir, I was not aware of it.
"*T.* Go into the kitchen and *warme* it."

Can the reader doubt (though he may perhaps ſmile at the aſſociation) that the image of the *Chamberlain* putting the *ſhirt* on *warm* impreſſed the oppoſite word *moiſt* on the imagination of the Poet? Though he was himſelf unconſcious how he came by it, and certainly never would have applied it as an epithet to trees, if it had not been fixed on his mind by a kind of faſcinating power, which concealed from him not only the origin but the effect likewiſe of ſo ſtrange an aſſociation.

IT is certain that thoſe ideas are apparently very remote from each other, which relate to *dreſs*—to a *noiſome plant*—and to that which is expreſſive of *aſking* or *accommodating*; and yet the curious reader will be aſtoniſhed to diſcover, that the Poet is often led

led to connect ſome of theſe diſſimilar objects, becauſe they have been by accident combined under the ſame ſound; and becauſe certain words, by which they are expreſſed, are ſometimes found to be coincident in ſenſe. The words to which I allude are SUIT and WEED, which from their equivocal ſenſes have ſtrangely operated on the mind of the Poet to produce, without his own knowledge and without confuſion of metaphor, the union of the words or the connexion of the ideas.

The firſt inſtance I ſhall produce is from *As You Like It*, in which *dreſs—petition* and the *plant* follow each other.

" *Jaques.* I am ambitious for a motley *coat.*
" *Duke S.* Thou ſhalt have one.
" *Jaq.* It is my only SUIT;
" Provided, that you WEED your better judgments
" Of all opinion that grows rank in them;
" That I am wiſe." (Act II. S. vii. p. 158.)

This the reader muſt acknowledge to be a ſingular combination. I agree with Dr. Johnſon, that *ſuit* means *petition*, not *dreſs*; and I think that Mr. Steevens is miſtaken in ſuppoſing that the Poet meant a quibble *. Let me obſerve in this place,

* It is obſervable, that our Poet often falls into *apparent* quibbles or *involuntary* aſſociations of this ſort, when on other occaſions the ſame ſubject has ſupplied him with a vein of *intentional* quibbling. Mr. Steevens produces the following inſtance out of this very play: " Not out of your *apparel*; and yet out of your *ſuit.*"

that there is a ſpecies of quibble, which may be referred in a certain ſenſe to the principle which I am diſcuſſing; and it is therefore neceſſary to remind my reader, that I mean only to produce thoſe inſtances of *aſſociation*, where the Author himſelf was unconſcious of its effect. I ſhall moreover, in the courſe of my enquiry, take occaſion from this doctrine to defend our Poet in a variety of inſtances againſt the charge of an intended quibble, which the Commentators have often unjuſtly imputed to him. The fact is, that our Critics have diſcovered the *aſſociation*, which had eſcaped the ardour of the writer.

In the following paſſage *dreſs* is united to the *plant*:

" Beſides, they are our outward conſciences,
" And preachers to us all; admoniſhing,
" That we ſhould *dreſs* us fairly for our end.
" Thus may we gather honey from the WEED,
" And make a moral of the devil himſelf."
(*Henry V.* Act IV. S. i. p. 539.)

" *ſuit.*" (Act IV. S. i. p. 202.) To which I will add another example from Henry IV. Part I. " *Fal.* Well, Hal, well; and, " in ſome ſort it jumps with my humour, as well as waiting in the " court, I can tell you." " *P. Hen.* For obtaining of *ſuits?*" " *Fal.* Yea, for obtaining of *ſuits*: whereof the hangman hath " no lean *wardrobe.*" (Act I. S. ii. p. 123.)

Our Poet has again quibbled on this word from a different ſource in *Love's Labour Loſt*, p. 362; and again in *All's Well that Ends Well*, p. 361. See likewiſe *Comedy of Errors*, p. 178.

The

The argument, which I am illuſtrating, will not be affected by the ſenſe in which *dreſs* is taken; whether it ſignifies *addreſs* to *prepare*, or *dreſs* to *cloath*; as the aſſociation ariſing from the ſame ſound bearing an equivocal ſenſe will be equally remarkable.

I believe however with Mr. *Steevens*, that the word is taken in its common acceptation. He produces the following paſſage as an inſtance in point: "They come like ſacrifices in their *trim*." Let me add likewiſe, that the word *fairly* confirms this interpretation; which is again ſtrengthened by the paſſage produced below.

"But, by the maſs, our hearts are in the *trim*."

In the following paſſage *dreſs* is connected with *ſuit* in its ſenſe of *accommodation*. *Bravery* (as every one knows) is * ſplendour in *dreſs*.

"Or what is he of baſeſt function;
"That ſays, his *bravery* is not on my coſt,
"(Thinking that I mean him), but therein SUITS
"His folly to the mettle of my ſpeech?"

(*As You Like It*, Act II. S. vii. p. 159-160.)

* The two following paſſages are the moſt ſtriking inſtances which I have found of this well known ſignification of *bravery*. I am unwilling that the latter ſhould be loſt, as it contains a diſtinction between its preſent and ancient ſenſe. "The lady herſelfe "was all clad in greene, ſo *brave* and rich, that *bravery* itſelf was "transformed into her." (Shelton's *Don Quixote*, 3. 196.)—

"Tan

The following paſſage is extremely curious:

" Lo! this device was ſent me from a Nun,
" Or Siſter ſanctified, of holieſt note;
" Which late her noble SUIT in court did ſhun,
" Whoſe rareſt havings made the bloſſoms dote;
" For ſhe was ſought by Spirits of richeſt *coat*,
" But kept cold diſtance, and did thence remove;
" To ſpend her living in eternal love."
(*A Lover's Complaint*, p. 364.)

By " Spirits of richeſt *coat*" is certainly meant, as the Commentators have obſerved, " *nobles*, whoſe " high deſcent is mark'd by the number of quar- " ters in their *coats* of arms;" and it is remarkable in this aſſociation, that the word *ſuit* recalls to the Poet's mind, as in former inſtances, the idea of *dreſs*, and the term expreſſing it; though that term *coat* bearing a double ſenſe is applied with a different ſignification.

In the following paſſage from Coriolanus *weed* in the ſenſe of *dreſs* is connected with the word *ſuit* in the ſenſe of *petition*; and there is likewiſe a new

" Tan *bizarra* y ricamente, que la miſma *bizarria* venia tranſ- " formada en ella" (3. 231. Edit. Bowles.)

" *Mav.* I commended but their wits, Madam, and their *bra-* " *veries*. I never look'd toward their *valours*.

" *Hau.* Sir Dauphine is *valiant*, and a wit too, it ſeems.

" *Mav.* And a *Bravury* too."
(*The Silent Woman*, Act IV. S. vi.)

notion

notion annexed, which relates to a peculiar meaning of the equivocal word *ſuit*.

" Beſides, forget not
" With what contempt he wore the humble WEED;
" How in his SUIT he ſcorn'd you: but your loves,
" Thinking upon his *ſervices*, took from you
" The apprehenſion of his preſent portance,
" Which moſt gibingly, ungravely, he did *faſhion*
" After the inveterate hate he bears you."
(Act II. S. iii. p. 216*.)

In the foregoing paſſage the remarkable words are *weed—ſuit—ſervices—faſhion*; and the reader, I hope, will not imagine that I refine too much, when I inform him that the word *ſervices* is to be referred to the ſame aſſociation; and that it was ſuggeſted to the Poet by another ſignification which *ſuit* ſometimes bears of *livery*—the peculiar dreſs by which the ſervants and retainers of one family were diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of another. In our Poet's days, theſe diſtinctions were conſidered as matters of great importance; and we accordingly find that both in him and in all our ancient writers alluſions

* *Weed* and *ſuit*, whether in different ſenſes or referring to the ſame object, appear to have been particularly combined in the imagination of our Bard. So in *Lear*,

" *Cor.* Be better *ſuited*,
" Theſe *weeds* are memories of thoſe worſer hours."
(Act IV. S. i. p. 654.)

of this ſort perpetually occur, and that the idea of *ſervice* is often connected with the *badge* or *dreſs* by which it is accompanied. The following paſſage from *As You Like It*, with the obſervations annexed, will be illuſtrative of this ſubject:

" Wear this for me; one out of SUITS with fortune;
" That could give more; but that her hand lacks
" means." (Act I. S. ii. p. 133.)

Mr. Steevens believes, that *out of ſuits with fortune* means turned out of her *ſervice*, and ſtripped of her *livery*; and Mr. Malone confirms this ſenſe by the following paſſage in the ſame play, where Celia ſays, " But turning theſe jeſts out of *ſervice*, let us " talk in good earneſt." (P. 137.)

To which add the following more deciſive paſſage from Henry V.

" But, by the maſs, our hearts are in the *trim:*
" And my poor ſoldiers tell me—yet ere night
" They'll be in freſher robes; or they will pluck
" The gay new *coats* o'er the French ſoldiers heads,
" And *turn them out of ſervice.*"
(Act IV. S. iii. p. 562.)

The ſucceeding paſſages from *Marſton's Malcontent*, 1604, are ſtill more to the point:

" Therefore I tell thee, Celſo,
" I find the wind begins to come about,
" I'll ſhift my *ſuit of fortune.*"
(Old Plays, IV. p. 62.)

" My

" My lords,
" Addreſs to public counſel, 'tis moſt fit,
" The *train of fortune* is borne up by wit." (Id. 76.)

I could produce numberleſs paſſages, in which familiar metaphors are directly taken from the diſtinguiſhing dreſs of ſervants; but thoſe inſtances only are directed to explain my preſent argument; in which *words relating* to a certain ſubject, though not *all applied* to it, have been connected with each other by an involuntary aſſociation. To illuſtrate more fully the paſſage produced above from Coriolanus, take the following quotation from *As You Like It*, in which *ſervice* and *faſhion* are likewiſe again united.

" *Orl.* O good old man; how well in thee appears
" The conſtant *ſervice* of the antique world,
" When *ſervice* ſweat for duty, not for meed!
" Thou art not for the *faſhion* of theſe times."
(Act II. S. iii. p. 148.)

Suit and *ſervice*, we know, are terms familiar to the language of our *Feudal Law*. No ideas are more impreſſed on the mind of our Poet, than thoſe which have reference to the *Law*. In the following paſſages, *ſuit* and *ſervice* are again united:

" *Baſſ.* I know thee well; thou haſt obtain'd thy
" *ſuit:*
" Shylock, thy maſter, ſpoke with me this day,
" And

" And hath preferr'd thee; if it be preferment,
" To leave a rich Jew's *ſervice* to become
" The follower of ſo poor a gentleman."
(*Merchant of Venice*, Act II. S. ii. p. 29.)

" *Princeſs.* Biron did ſwear himſelf out of all *ſuit*.
" *Maria.* Dumain was at my *ſervice*, and his ſword."
(*Love's L. Loſt*, Act V. S. ii. p. 408.)

" *Biron.* Studies my lady? Miſtreſs, look on me;
" Behold the window of my heart, mine eye,
" What humble *ſuit* attends thy anſwer there;
" Impoſe ſome *ſervice* on me for thy love."
(Id. the laſt Scene, p. 434.)

Let the curious reader once more review the quotations relating to this ſubject; and I am perſuaded that he will coincide with me in admiring this ſtrange aſſociation of diſſimilar images, which on ſo many occaſions had formed itſelf in the mind of our Poet.

" ALL preparation for a bloody ſiege,
" And mercileſs proceeding by theſe French,
" Confronts your city's *eyes*, your *winking* gates;
" And, but for our approach, thoſe *ſleeping* ſtones,
" That as a waiſt do girdle you about,
" By the compulſion of their ordnance,
" By this time from their fixed *beds* of lime,
" Had been diſhabited."
(*King John*, Act II. S. i. p. 472.)

Can

Can the reader doubt that the words *ſleeping* and *bed* in the above paſſage were impreſſed on our Author by the preceding image of the city's *eyes* and the *winking* gates? The metaphor is not continued, though the words belonging to it ſucceed. The following paſſage will leave us little reaſon to doubt reſpecting the truth of this conjecture; as it will ſhew us that our Poet has *intentionally* formed a combination of this nature.

" Here lies your brother,
" No better than the earth he lies upon,
" If he were that which now he's like, that's, dead;
" Whom I with this obedient ſteel, three inches of it,
" Can lay to *bed* for ever: whiles you, doing thus
" To the perpetual *wink* * for aye might put
" This ancient morſel, this Sir Prudence."
(*Tempeſt*, Act II. S. i. p. 45.)

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* *Wink* appears ſometimes to ſignify *ſleep* in general, or with an epithet to be peculiarly applied to a *deep* and a *ſound ſleep*. So in the *Winter's Tale*,

" Ay, and thou,
" His cup-bearer, _____
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
" _____ _____ _____ might'ſt be-ſpice a cup,
" To give mine enemy a *laſting wink*."
(Act I. S. ii. p. 140.)

Mr. Steevens on this paſſage produces the lines in the *Tempeſt* as

" THEREFORE, out of my love to you, I came " hither to acquaint you withal; that either you " might ſtay him from his intendment, or *brook* " ſuch diſgrace well as he ſhall *run* into."

(*As You Like It*, Act I. S. i. p. 124.)

I have no doubt but that *run* was ſuggeſted to the Poet by its aſſociation with the equivocal word *brook*; and if Dr. Farmer's idea (which, I think, very ingenious) ſhould be adopted, the following paſſage is to be referred to an aſſociation of this ſort:

" *Piſtol.* He hath ſtudy'd her *well*, and tranſlated " her *well*; out of honeſty into Engliſh.

" *Nym.* The anchor is *deep:* Will that humour " paſs? (*Merry Wives of W.* Act I. S. ii.)

" From this equivocal word" *(well)*, ſays the Doctor, " Nym catches the idea of *deepneſs*." I have not the leaſt doubt but that this *aquatic* metaphor of the *deepneſs* of the Anchor was ſuggeſted to Shakſpeare by the equivocal meaning of *well*, and the phraſe *out of* might contribute likewiſe to operate on the mind of our Poet. Let me add, that the word *well* is ſomewhat awkwardly introduced in the paſſage of *As You Like It*. With reſpect to the

as parallel. Let me add the following quotation from *Marſton's Malcontent:*

" The ſtooping ſcythe-man that doth barb the field,
" Thou makeſt *winke ſure:* in night all creatures ſleep,
" Only the Malcontent." (See Old Plays, IV. 60.)

aſſo-

aſſociation of *brook* and *run*; we may confirm a preceding remark reſpecting the propenſity in our Author to form theſe combinations, when he has on another occaſion *intentionally* quibbled upon the word.

" *Bard.* One Maſter *Brook*—hath ſent your Wor-
" ſhip a morning's draught of ſack.
" *Fal. Brook*, is his name?
" *Bard.* Ay, Sir.
" *Fal.* Call him in. Such *Brooks* are welcome to
" me, that *o'erflow* ſuch liquor."

(*Merry Wives of W.* A. II. S. ii.)

" *Roſ.* THE Duke my father lov'd his father
" *dearly.*
" *Cel.* Doth it therefore enſue, that you ſhould
" love his ſon *dearly*? By this kind of *chaſe*, I ſhould
" hate him, for my father hated his father *dearly*."

(*As You Like It*, Act I. S. iii. p. 138.)

By this kind of CHASE certainly means, as Dr. Johnſon obſerves, by this way of following the argument; though it is ſurely a remote and quaint mode of expreſſing ſuch an idea in a dialogue ſo plain and ſimple as the preſent. Can the reader doubt that *Shakſpeare* fell into this expreſſion by a combination ariſing from the ſimilar ſounds of *dear* and *deer*?—That our ancient writers have ſometimes quibbled on theſe words, may be urged as an argument to convince the reader how eaſy

and

and natural it is for our Author to be led into ſuch an aſſociation; though, in the preſent inſtance, not the moſt diſtant alluſion to this equivocal meaning was intended by the Poet *. The reader may find

* The propenſity of Shakſpeare to quibble on this word may perhaps afford ſome internal evidence for the authenticity of thoſe notable verſes, which our Poet is ſaid to have penn'd on Sir Thomas Lucy, from whoſe park was *ſtolen* the *veniſon of immortal memory*.

Sir Thomas was too covetous
To covet ſo much *deer*,
When horns enough upon his head
Moſt plainly did appear.

Had not his Worſhip one *deer* left?
What then? he had a wife
Took pains enough to find him horns
Should laſt him during life.

(See Malone, Vol. i. p. 107.)

Joſhua Barnes (as we are told) being at Stratford about the cloſe of the laſt century had the good fortune to hear an old woman ſinging this ballad on Sir Thomas; "and ſuch" (ſays the relater of the adventure) "was his reſpect for Mr. Shakſpeare's genius, that "he gave her a new gown" for the above ſtanzas; "and, could "ſhe have ſaid it all, he would (as he often ſaid in company, "when any diſcourſe has caſually aroſe about him) have given her "ten guineas."—No one ſurely can object againſt the actual or intentional benevolence of *Joſhua* to the old woman of Stratford, when "his reſpect for the genius of Mr. Shakſpeare" was the cauſe by which it was excited. I rejoice however that his veneration for our Poet did not betray him into thoſe fatal teſtimonies of reſpect, which he has ſo laviſhly inflicted, without any "mitigation or re-"morſe," on Homer and Euripides.—With reſpect to the verſes in queſtion, I cannot but obſerve that, however ſuſpicious their external evidence may appear, they contain within themſelves ſome very ſtriking features of authenticity; and may, I think be readily conceived

an example in *Titus Andronicus*, p. 416. Act III. S. i. and the two following (which will ſufficiently anſwer our purpoſe) are from the Firſt Parts of *Henry VI.* and *Henry IV.*

" Sell every man his life as *dear* as mine,
" And they ſhall find *dear deer* of us, my friends."
(Act IV. S. ii. p. 78.)

conceived to have proceeded from the pen of our young Bard, before he was removed from the little circle of his native place, when his powers, unformed and unpractiſed, were rouſed only by reſentment to a Country Juſtice, and deſtined merely to delight the ruſtic companions of his deer ſtealing adventure.—As an additional evidence to the quibble on the word *deer*, which appears to be intended in theſe verſes, we may obſerve that there is no topic, to which our Author ſo delights to allude, as the Horns of the Cuckold.—Let me be permitted to remark in general, that the anecdotes, which have been delivered down to us reſpecting our Poet, appear to me neither improbable, nor, when duly examined, inconſiſtent with each other: even thoſe, which ſeem leaſt allied to probability, contain in my opinion the *adumbrata*, if not *expreſſa ſigna veritatis*. Mr. Malone has admirably ſifted the accounts of *Aubrey* (Part 2d, Vol. i. p. 172.); and there is no truth, that is obtained by a train of reaſoning not reducible to demonſtration, of which I am more convinced than the conjecture of Mr. Malone, who ſuppoſes that Shakſpeare, before he quitted Stratford, was employed in ſuch matters of buſineſs as belonged to the office of a Country Attorney or the Steward of a Manor Court, (Vol. I. p. 104.)—I have ſtated his conjecture in general terms, that the *fact*, as it relates to our Poet's *legal alluſions*, might be ſeparated from any accidental circumſtances of *hiſtorical truth*.—I am aſtoniſhed however that Mr. Malone has confirmed his conjecture by ſo few examples (p. 307). I can ſupply him with a very large acceſſion.

" Death

" Death has not ſtruck ſo fat a *deer* to day,
" Tho' many *dearer* in this bloody fray."
(Act V. S. iv. p. 259.)

An aſſociation derived from this animal has on other occaſions likewiſe operated on the mind of the Poet:

" Beſhrew his ſoul for me,
" He *ſtarted* one poor *heart* of mine in thee."
(*Twelfth Night*, Act IV. S. i.)

Dr. Johnſon has remarked on this paſſage, that an equivoque was intended between *heart* and *hart*; and Mr. Malone obſerves, that *heart* in our Author's time was frequently written *hart*, and that " Shakſpeare delights in playing on theſe words." This is certainly true; yet I am perſuaded that no quibble was here intended; but that the equivocal word ſuggeſted to the unconſcious Poet a term which was allied to one of its ſignifications.—It is here extremely worthy of the reader's obſervation, that the Poet will be ſometimes entangled in the dangers of a petty quibble, or betrayed into the quaint application of a familiar expreſſion by the ſame aſſociation, which on another occaſion will ſupply him with the moſt poetical ideas, and ſuggeſt the moſt delicate touches of metaphorical imagery. In the celebrated deſcription of the

" Poor ſequeſter'd *Stag*,
" That from the *Hunter*'s aim had ta'en a hurt,"

ſurely

ſurely no reader of taſte can doubt but that the *animal* and the *ſubject* conducted the imagination of the Poet to the following beautiful metaphor?

" And the big round tears
" *Cours'd* one another down his innocent noſe
" In piteous *chaſe*." (Act II. S. i.)

" AND *learning**, a mere hoard of gold kept by " a devil, till ſack *commences* it, and ſets it in *act* " and uſe. Hereof comes it, that prince Harry is " valiant: for the cold blood he did naturally in- " herit of his father, he hath, like lean, ſteril, and " bare land, manured, huſbanded, and tilled, with " excellent endeavour of drinking good, and good " ſtore of fertile ſherris; that he is become very " hot and valiant. If I had a thouſand ſons, the " firſt human principle I would teach them, ſhould " be,—to forſwear thin potations, and to addict " themſelves to ſack."

(*Henry IV.* Part 2d, Act IV. S. iii.)

* Mr. Steevens is right reſpecting the ancient opinion, that mines were guarded by evil ſpirits.

" No goblin, or ſwart faery of the mine,
" Hath hurtful power o'er true virginity."

(Comus, 435. See Mr. Warton ad loc.)

I ſuſpect however that Shakſpeare borrowed the image from a ſcene in ſome Pageant; as he has done in many paſſages, which appear to contain a very remote alluſion.

Mr. Tyrwhitt is of opinion, that Shakſpeare in the firſt part of this ſpeech of Falſtaff probably alludes to the *Cambridge Commencement* and the *Oxford Act*; for (as he very archly obſerves) "by theſe "different names our two Univerſities have long "diſtinguiſhed the ſeaſon, at which each of them "gives to her reſpective ſtudents a complete au- "thority to *uſe* thoſe *boards of learning*, which have "entitled them to their ſeveral degrees in arts, "law, phyſic, and divinity." I do not agree with Mr. Tyrwhitt, that Shakſpeare means a *direct alluſion* to the *Cambridge Commencement* and the *Oxford Act*; but the reader will, I truſt, immediately find a reaſon in our principle why the terms in queſtion were employed on this occaſion *. The Poet was

* It might perhaps be imagined that the *Cambridge Commencement* was a piece of knowledge very remote from the habits of Shakſpeare's life and profeſſion. Mr. Steevens however has produced a couple of paſſages, which familiarly allude to it.

"Then he is held a freſhman and a ſot,
"And never ſhall *commence*." (The Roaring Girl, 1611.)

Again in *Paſquil's Jeſts, or Mother Bunch's Merriments*, 1604.

"A Doctor that was newly *commenc'd* at *Cambridge*."

Of the *Oxford Act* Shakſpeare acquired his knowledge in paſſing through Oxford; though it grieveth me to add, that on theſe journeys of our Bard there is ſomething to be found in the *Chroniques Scandaleuſes*. (See Malone, Vol. I. p. 158, &c.; and Part 2d, p. 270.) I ſhall preſent the reader with this narrative in the words of Mr. Oldys. "If tradition may be truſted, Shakſ- "peare often baited at the Crown Inn or Tavern in Oxford, in "his journey to and from London. The landlady was a woman "of

well acquainted with the names of theſe æras of learning in our two Univerſities; and though he

" of great beauty and ſprightly wit; and her huſband, Mr. John " Davenant (afterwards Mayor of that city), a grave, melancholy " man; who, as well as his wife, uſed much to delight in Shakſ- " peare's pleaſant company. Their ſon, young Will. Davenant " (afterwards Sir William), was then a little ſchool boy in the " town, of about ſeven or eight years old, and ſo fond alſo of " Shakſpeare, that whenever he heard of his arrival, he would fly " from ſchool to ſee him. One day an old townſman obſerving " the boy running homeward almoſt out of breath, aſked him " whither he was poſting in that heat and hurry? He anſwered, " to ſee his *god*-father Shakſpeare. There's a good boy, ſaid the " other, but have a care that you don't take *God*'s name in vain. " This ſtory Mr. Pope told me at the Earl of Oxford's table— " and he quoted Mr. Betterton the player for his authority." According to Mr. Warton, it was always a conſtant tradition in Oxford, that Shakſpeare was the father of Davenant the poet; " and I have ſeen" (ſays he) " this circumſtance expreſly men- " tioned in ſome of Wood's papers. Wood was well qualified to " know theſe particulars; for he was a townſman of Oxford, " where he was born in 1632. Wood ſays, that Davenant went " to ſchool in Oxford." We are informed likewiſe by *Wood*, that the wit of Mrs. Davenant did not deſcend to any of her children but to him, who was afterwards Sir William. Her huſband (he informs us) " was ſeldom or never ſeen to laugh, in which he " was imitated by none of his children but by Robert his eldeſt " ſon, afterwards fellow of St. John's College, and a venerable " Doctor of Divinity."—The friendſhip, with which this grave citizen appears to have received our Poet, perſuades me totally to diſcredit that part of the ſtory which contains the ſcandal. Antony Wood was certainly well qualified to know the particulars of the *report*, though he is no evidence as to the exiſtence of the *fact*. I am determined with Mr. Warton *not* to believe that Shakſpeare could be the father of a *venerable Doctor of Divinity, who never*

was unconſcious in the preſent inſtance of their peculiar application, they were undoubtedly impreſſed on his recollection by the ſubject which occupied his attention. For we may obſerve, that the ſpeech of Falſtaff has not only relation to the ſubject of *learning* and the *culture* of youth, but it ſeems likewiſe to abound with *academical* terms and diſcuſſions. The word *principle* appears to be of this ſort; and I have ſome ſuſpicions that *forſwear* and *adaict* allude to the "nullius *addictus jurare* in "verba Magiſtri," which our Author would find perpetually quoted and tranſlated. The word *addicted* was itſelf uſed ſometimes in familiar language with an alluſion to its *Horatian* meaning. "And for that I ſee there are divers, who being "too much *addicted* and ſeduced, by the ſcandalous "blaſphemies and reports, which ſome of thoſe "who are lewdly affected towards us, have pub-"liſhed againſt us." (*Lodge's Joſephus againſt Apion*, 1ſt B. p. 764.) "Let the ingenious learned judge

laughed; and we find nothing ſo ſuperior in the genius of Sir William Davenant, which can entitle him o ſuch ſuſpicions of pre-eminence: his vanity however might induce him to propagate the ſtory; and, for ought I know, might perſuade him to believe t.—The truth is, that the *great beauty* and *ſprightly wit* of the lady would eaſily afford a ſubject of ſcandal to the cenſorious, when the *melancholy gravity* of her huſband was contraſted with the pleaſantry, the accompliſhments, and the genius of the *gentle Shakſpeare*:

"The moſt repleniſhed ſweet work of Nature,
"That, from the prime creation, e'er ſhe fram'd.

"whether

" whether I have reaſon on my ſide: the *partial*
" ADDICTED *ſect* I ſhun, as men that never mean
" good to poſterity." (Bredwell's Addreſs to the Reader in *Gerarde*'s *Herball.*)—In the part of Falſtaff's ſpeech preceding the paſſage in queſtion, we have a *learned* and ludicrous deſcription of the effects of Sherry on the human frame. " The
" ſecond property of your excellent Sherris is,—
" the warming of the blood; which, before cold
" and ſettled, left the liver white and pale, which
" is the badge of puſillanimity and cowardice:
" but the ſherris warms it and makes it courſe from
" the inwards to the parts extreme. It illumineth
" the face; which, as a beacon, gives warning to
" all the reſt of this little kingdom, man, to arm;
" and then the vital commoners, and inland petty
" ſpirits, muſter me all to their captain, the heart;
" who, great, and puff'd up with this retinue,
" doth any deed of courage; and this valour comes
" of ſherris. So that ſkill in the weapon is no-
" thing without ſack, for that ſets it awork; and
" *learning a mere hoard of gold*, &c." Its effect on the Underſtanding is thus deſcribed: " It aſcends
" me into the brain; dries me there all the fooliſh,
" and dull, and crudy vapours which environ it:
" makes it apprehenſive, quick, forgetive, full of
" nimble, fiery, and delectable ſhapes; which de-
" liver'd o'er to the voice (the tongue), which is
" the birth, becomes excellent wit."—Such is the learning which our Author attributes to the pe-

dant Holofernes: " This is a gift that I have, " ſimple, ſimple; a fooliſh extravagant ſpirit, " full of forms, figures, ſhapes, objects, ideas, ap- " prehenſions, motions, revolutions: Theſe are " begot in the ventricle of memory, nouriſhed in " the womb of *pia-mater*, and deliver'd upon the " mellowing of occaſion: but the gift is good in " thoſe in whom it is acute, and I am thankful for " it." (*Love's Labour Loſt*, Act IV. S. ii. p. 369.) In the *Lover's Complaint*, our Author is likewiſe very *learned* and very obſcure, in the deſcription which the damſel gives of the inſidious arts of her lover:

" In him a *plenitude* of *ſubtle matter*
" Applied to cautels all ſtrange *forms* receives."
(Vol. X. p. 369.)

" AND never ſince the middle ſummer's ſpring
" Met we on hill, in dale, foreſt or mead,
* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *
" To *dance* our *ringlets* to the whiſtling wind
" But with thy *brawls* thou haſt *diſturb'd* our *ſport*."
(*Midſummer Night's Dream*, Act II. S. i. p. 463.)

I am firmly perſuaded, that in this paſſage the quarrels of Oberon with Titania were denominated by the word *brawls* from its affinity in one ſenſe with

with the *ſport* and the *ringlet dances*, which theſe *brawls* or quarrels had interrupted. *Brawl* is a ſpecies of dance; and what is ſingular in the preſent caſe, it is that particular ſpecies (according to Philips) in which ſeveral perſons danced together in a *ring*. (See Old Plays, Vol. IV. p. 72.)—There is another paſſage in our Author, where *brawls* and *ſports* are connected as in the inſtance before us, accompanied even by the ſame idea of *interruption*, which the one had received from the other.

" Thou ſay'ſt, his *ſports* were *hinder'd* by thy *brawls*."
(Comedy of Errors, Act V. S. i. p. 191.)

Of this *dance*, our ancient writers afford us no preciſe or intelligible account. Every one recollects that Sir Chriſtopher Hatton was much celebrated for his ability in conducting theſe dances:

" The grave Lord Keeper led the *brawls*."

I am diſpoſed however to imagine from the principles of our theory, that the excellence of this dance conſiſted in its intricacy, and that the performers diſplayed their dexterity by mingling with another company of dancers, and preſerving their own figure diſtinct and ſeparate amidſt all the mazes of apparent *interruption*. A paſſage in Shelton's *Don Quixote* may induce us to ſuppoſe that the performance was accompanied with ſome *ſignificant* actions: " After " this there came in another artificiall dance, of " thoſe calle *Brawles*, &c." (Part II. p. 129.)

" Tras eſta entro' otra danza de artificio y de las " que llaman *habladas.*" (Bowles' Edit. Vol. III. p. 153.) " *Danza hablada.* La compueſta de per- " ſonages *veſtidos* al *propoſito* de alguna *Hiſtoria.*" (Bowles', Note, Vol. V. p. 56.)

If *Brawl* be an exact tranſlation of the *Hablada*; it correſponded in ſome caſes with thoſe *Dramatic Dances*, which are exhibited with ſuch exquiſite effect by the performers of the preſent days —By a paſſage in *Love's Labour Loſt*, we might be led to conjecture that the *Brawl* was ſometimes a burleſque dance, accompanied with ridiculous ſounds and geſtures.

" *Moth.* Maſter, will you win your love with a " French *Brawl?*

" *Arm.* How mean'ſt thou? brawling in French?

" *Moth.* No, my complete maſter: but to jigg " off a tune at the tongue's end, canary to it with " your feet, humour it with turning up your eye- " lids; ſigh a note, and ſing a note; ſometime " through the throat, as if you ſwallow'd love with " ſinging love; ſometime through the noſe, as if " you ſnuff'd up love by ſmelling love; with your " hat penthouſe like, o'er the ſhop of your eyes; " with your arms croſs'd on your thin belly-doublet, " like a rabbit on a ſpit; or your hands in your " pocket, like a man after the old painting; and " keep not too long in one tune, but a ſnip and " away: Theſe are complements, theſe are humours;

" mours; theſe betray nice wenches—that would
" be betray'd without theſe; and make them men
" of note (do you note, *men?*), that are moſt
" affected to theſe." (Act III. S. i. p. 347.)

" MY better parts
" Are all THROWN DOWN; and that which here
" STANDS UP,
" Is but a quintaine, a mere lifeleſs block."
(*As You Like It*, 133. Act I. S. ii.)

The reader will now be enabled to ſee more fully the force of my obſervations on this paſſage:—Firſt, that the idea of the Quintaine, which is apparently ſo obſcure and remote, preſented itſelf to our Poet from the *feats of Activity* and the *affair of Love*, which belonged both to the ſituation of Orlando and the circumſtances connected with the Quintaine: Secondly, that the phraſes themſelves *thrown down—ſtands up*, were impreſſed on the writer by the ſubject of *wreſtling*, which had juſt occupied his attention.

IT will readily be underſtood and acknowledged, that this propenſity in the mind to aſſociate ſub-

ſubjects ſo remote in their meaning, and ſo heterogeneous in their nature, muſt of neceſſity ſometimes deceive the ardour of the writer into whimſical or ridiculous combinations. As the reader however is not blinded by this faſcinating principle, which, while it creates the aſſociation, conceals likewiſe its effect; he is inſtantly impreſſed with the quaintneſs or the abſurdity of the imagery, and is inclined to charge the writer with the intention of a fooliſh quibble, or an impertinent alluſion. I ſhall now therefore produce ſome paſſages of Shakſpeare, which have fallen under ſuſpicions of this nature, and which I think may be completely defended by the application of the preſent theory. Our Bard has ſo many grievous and undoubted quibbles of his own to anſwer for; that it is ſurely unreaſonable, as Mr. Steevens has ſomewhere obſerved, to cenſure him for thoſe which exiſt only in the imagination of others.

" He had a fever when he was in Spain,
" And, when the fit was on him, I did mark
" How he did ſhake: 'tis true, this god did ſhake:
" His COWARD lips did from their COLOUR FLY."
(*Julius Cæſar*, Act I. S. ii. p. 316.)

" A plain man" (ſays *Warburton*) " would have " ſaid the *colour fled from his lips*, and not his *lips* " *from their colour*. But the falſe expreſſion was for " the ſake of as falſe a piece of wit: a poor quib- " ble, alluding to a coward flying from his co- " lours."

" lours." The Critic has diſcovered the aſſociation, which had eſcaped the Author; who indeed intended no quibble, but was himſelf entangled by the ſimilitude of *colour* and *colours*. This introduced to him the appropriate terms of *coward* and *fly*; and thus, under the influence of ſuch an embarraſſment, it was ſcarcely poſſible to expreſs the ſentiment in a form leſs equivocal than the preſent. Let me add likewiſe another circumſtance, which might operate in ſuggeſting this *military* metaphor—that the cowardice of a *ſoldier* is the ſubject of the narrative.

" TELL Bolingbroke, (for yond', methinks he is,)
" That every ſtride he makes upon my land,
" Is dangerous treaſon: He is come to OPE
" The PURPLE *teſtament* of bleeding war."
(*Richard II.* Act III. S. iii. p. 64.)

" I once thought" (ſays Mr. Malone) " that " Shakſpeare might have had the ſacred book " (which is frequently covered with purple leather) " in his thoughts;" but he adds, that this ſuppoſition is rendered extremely " doubtful" by the interpretation of Mr. Steevens; who believes that Shakſpeare uſes the word *teſtament* in its *legal* ſenſe. " Bolingbroke" (ſays he) " is come to open the " teſtament of war, that he may peruſe what is " decreed

" decreed there in his favour. *Purple* is an epithet " referring to the future effuſion of blood."—Whatever be the *direct* meaning of the words in queſtion, I am perſuaded that the idea of a *book* with a *purple* covering ſuggeſted this combination of words to the mind of our Poet. Mr. Malone will be gratified in ſeeing the following line from the Firſt Part of *Jeronimo*; which perhaps might be produced as an inſtance of a paſſage completely parallel:

" Then I UNCLASP the *purple leaves of war.*"

(Old Plays, Vol. III. p. 79.)

Shakſpeare has himſelf often derived his metaphor from the *binding* of a *book*.

" How would he look to ſee his *work*, ſo noble,
" Vilely *bound up*."

(Perdita to Florizel *diſguiſed*, *Winter's Tale*, Act IV. S. iii. p. 199)

Mr. Steevens has produced two parallel paſſages from *Romeo and Juliet*. They are included however in the ſame ſpeech of Lady Capulet, and refer (as ſhe expreſſes it) to the " *volume* of young Paris' " face." (Act I. S. iii. p. 31—2.) The whole ſpeech is worthy our attention.

" What ſay you? Can you love the gentleman?
" This night you ſhall behold him at our feaſt:
" Read o'er the volume of young Paris' face,

" And

" And find delight writ there with beauty's pen;
" Examine every married lineament,
" And ſee how one another lends content;
" And what obſcur'd in this fair volume lies,
" Find written in the margin of his eyes.
" This precious *book* of love, this *unbound* lover,
" To beautify him only lacks a cover:
" [The fiſh lives in the ſea; and 'tis much pride,
" For fair without the fair within to hide:]
" That *book* in many's eyes doth ſhare the glory,
" That in gold *claſps* locks in the golden ſtory."

To which add the following paſſage from the ſame play. *Juliet* ſpeaking of *Romeo* ſays,

" Was ever *book*, containing ſuch vile matter,
" So fairly *bound?* (Act III. S. ii. p. 104.)

I beſeech the curious reader again to peruſe the above quotations; and he will be ſomewhat ſurpriſed to diſcover, that the idea of a Lover, as deſcribed by his miſtreſs, or as repreſented with reſpect to her, is aſſociated either by metaphor, or compariſon with a *book* and the *binding* of it. This is certainly not merely accidental; though I know not by what intermediate idea ſo ſtrange a combination has been formed. The following lines, though ſomewhat obſcure, are certainly attached to the ſame vein of imagery, which we have ſeen in a preceding paſſage reſpecting the *margin* of a Lover's *eyes*. *Boyet* is deſcribing the effect which

was

was produced on the King by the preſence of the Princeſs.

" His face's own *margent* did quote ſuch amazes,
" That all eyes ſaw his *eyes* enchanted with gazes."
(*Love's Labour Loſt*, Act II. S. i. p. 336.)

Our Author has again in *The Rape of Lucrece* fallen into the ſame metaphor. This Mr. Malone has quoted:

" But ſhe, that never cop'd with ſtranger *eyes*,
" Could pick no meaning from their parling looks,
" Nor read the ſubtle ſhining ſecrecies,
" Writ in the glaſſy *margent* of ſuch *books*."

The comments on ancient books (as our Critics have juſtly obſerved) were printed in the *margin*. I muſt leave the reader however to diſcover the dexterity, with which our Poet has applied the metaphor. I cannot forbear adding ſome other paſſages, where Shakſpeare appears to have his mind ſtill occupied with the ſame imagery of the *Lover* and the *Book*.

" Thou wilt be like a *lover* preſently,
" And tire the hearer with a *book* of words:
* * * * * *
* * * * * *
" ——————Was't not to this end,
" That thou beganſt to twiſt ſo *fine a ſtory*?

And

Again in the Prince's next ſpeech,

" I will aſſume thy part in ſome diſguiſe,
" And tell fair Hero I am Claudio,
" And in her boſom I'll *unclaſp* my heart,
" And take her hearing priſoner with the force
" And ſtrong encounter of my *amorous tale.*"
(*Much Ado about Nothing*, Act I. S. i. 219, 220.)

In the *Twelfth Night*, when the Duke expreſſes to Viola that he has unfolded the whole ſtory of his *paſſion* for Olivia, he falls into the ſame metaphor:

" Thou know'ſt no leſs but all; I have *unclaſp'd*
" To thee the *book* even of my ſecret ſoul."
(Act I. S. iv. p. 15.)

Again, in that celebrated deſcription, which Ulyſſes gives of Creſſida. (*Troilus and C.* Act IV. S. v. p. 258.)

" Fie, Fie upon her!
" There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
" Nay her foot ſpeaks; her wanton ſpirits look out
" At every joint and motive of her body.
" O, theſe encounterers, ſo glib of tongue,
" That give a coaſting welcome ere it comes,
" And wide *unclaſp* the *tables* of their thoughts
" To every tickliſh *reader!* ſet them down
" For fluttiſh ſpoils of opportunity,
" And daughters of the game."

This

This deſcription, I imagine, is not to be exceeded.—I am perſuaded that the following paſſage of *Othello* is to be referred to the ſame ſource.

" As he ſhall ſmile, Othello ſhall go mad;
" And his *unbookiſh* jealouſy muſt conſtrue
" Poor Caſſio's ſmiles, geſtures, and light behaviour,
" Quite in the wrong." (Act IV. S. i. p. 587.)

The UNBOOKISH *jealouſy* of Othello, is that which confounds his knowledge in the *Books of* LOVE, and blinds his diſcernment reſpecting the *language of* LOVERS. It will cauſe him to miſtake the artleſs ſmiles and geſtures of Caſſio for the ſignificant expreſſions of *amorous parley*.—Whether our Poet intended to comprehend the whole of this meaning, I am not able to decide: I am convinced however that this remote epithet *unbookiſh*, as applied to jealouſy, was ſuggeſted to his mind by the above very ſingular imagery of the *Lover* and the *Book*.—We have obſerved in the preceding quotations, that alluſions are made to the *margin of the eyes of Lovers*; though I have omitted to produce thoſe parallel paſſages in *Love's Labour Loſt*, where the ſubject of the Author might lead him to metaphorical expreſſions of this nature. I cannot however forbear remarking, that there is one ſpeech of Biron, where he expatiates on the *learning of a Lady's eye*, in a manner, I think, more pointed and ſignificant than the nature of his ſubject might be ſuppoſed to authoriſe or ſuggeſt.

" From

" From *women's eyes* this doctrine I derive,
" They are the *ground*, the *books*, the *academes*,
" From whence do ſpring the true Promethean fire.

* * * * * *

" For where is any *author* in the world,
" Teaches ſuch beauty as a *woman's eye?*
" *Learning* is but an adjunct to ourſelf,
" And where we are, our learning likewiſe is.
" Then, when ourſelves we ſee in *ladies' eyes*,
" Do we not likewiſe ſee our *learning* there?
" O, we have made a vow to ſtudy, lords;
" And in that vow we have forſworn our books;
" For when would you, my liege, or you, or you,
" In leaden contemplation, have found out
" Such fiery numbers, as the prompting *eyes*
" Of *beauteous tutors* have enrich'd you with?
" Other ſlow arts entirely keep the brain;
" And therefore finding barren practiſers,
" Scarce ſhew a harveſt of their heavy toil:
" But Love, firſt *learned* in a lady's *eyes*,
" Lives not alone immured in the *brain*;
" But with the motion of all elements,
" Courſes as ſwift as thought in every power,
" And gives to every power a double power,
" Above their functions and their offices."

The Poet not contented with having thus (as it ſhould appear) exhauſted his ſubject, again recurs, after an interval of nineteen verſes, to the ſame theme and nearly to the ſame words.

" From *women's eyes* this doctrine I derive:
" They *ſparkle* ſtill the right Promethean fire;
" They are the *books*, the *arts*, the *academes*,
" That ſhew, contain, and nouriſh all the world."
(Act IV. S. iii. p. 387, &c.)

Again in the ſame play,

" Study his bias leaves, and makes his *book* thine *eyes*;
" Where all thoſe pleaſures live that art would com-
" prehend." Act IV. S. ii. p. 372.)

The following paſſages, in which the Author was not led by his ſubject into this train of ideas, will perfectly convince the reader, that the *book* and the *eye of beauty* (whatever might be the cauſe of ſo ſtrange an aſſociation) were deeply engrafted on the imagination of our Poet. Let me add, that I have omitted ſome paſſages of this ſort, which did not appear to me ſufficiently marked.

" Reaſon becomes the marſhal to my will,
" And leads me to your *eyes*; where I o'erlook
" *Love*'s ſtories, written in Love's richeſt *book*."
(Act II. S. iii. p. 479.)

" *K. John.* If that the Dauphin there, thy princely ſon,
" Can in this *book of beauty* read, I love.

* * * * *

" *K. Phil.* What ſay'ſt thou, boy? look in the lady's
" *face*.
" *Lewis.* I do, my lord; and in her *eye* I find
" A wonder, or a wondrous miracle."
(*King John*, Act II. S. ii. p. 485.)

" *Shepherd.*

" *Shepherd.* ——— He ſays, he loves my daughter,
" I think ſo too; for never gaz'd the moon
" Upon the water, as he'll ſtand and *read*
" As 'twere my daughter's *eyes*."
(*Winter's Tale*, Act IV. S. ii. p. 207 *.)

" She, Eros, has
" *Pack'd cards* with Cæſar, and falſe *play'd* my glory
" Unto an enemy's TRIUMPH."
(*Antony and Cleopatra*, Act IV. S. xii. p. 562.)

Dr. Warburton thinks that a quibble was intended, and that *triumph* may ſignify either *conqueſt* or *trump* at cards, which, ſays he, was then called the *triumph*. I do not think that a quibble was intended; but I am firmly perſuaded that the word was preſented to the Poet's mind by the metaphor de-

* Mr. *Henley* has inferred from a paſſage in *Romeo and Juliet* (p. 51), " You *kiſs* by the *book*," that as it was uſual to *quarrel* by the *book*, and to have *books* for good manners, ſo perhaps there might be books extant containing the *Art of Courtſhip*.—The reader may make what uſe he can of this conjecture; as likewiſe of the following paſſage from the *Inforced Marriage*, which is too marked and ſignificant to be omitted on this occaſion.

" Eye her, view her; though dead, yet ſhe does look,
" Like a freſh frame, or a new printed *book*
" Of the beſt paper, never look'd into,
" But with one ſullied finger which did ſpot her."
(See Old Plays, Vol. V. p. 39.)

rived from *cards*. The Editor of the *Old Plays* (Vol. II. p. 29) and Mr. Whalley are mightily deceived, if they imagine that the common derivation of *trump* from *triumph* is not well founded. *Ben Jonſon* ſpells the word *tromp*; hence it is conjectured by Mr. *Whalley*, that he imagined the origin of the word to be *tromper*. Who can be ignorant, that in other languages the *trump* at cards is the ſame word which expreſſes *triumph* or *victory*. It is *Triomphe* in French—*Trionfo* in Italian—and *Triumfo* in Spaniſh.—"*Trionfo*" (ſays *John Florio* in his Dictionary, 1611) "is a *triumph*, alſo a *tramp* at cardes, or the "play called *trump* and *ruffe*." *Cotgrave* explains *Triomphe* to be the "Card-game called *Ruffe* or "*Trump*; alſo the *ruffe* or *trump* at it." In John Florio's *Second Frutes*, 1591, p. 67. *al triumphetto* is tranſlated *at trump*, and enumerated among the games play'd at with cards. We find likewiſe, *A tarocchi* among a ſet of games, and tranſlated *at terreſtrial* TRIUMPHS. In *Florio*'s Dictionary, *Tarocchi* is ſaid to be a "kind of playing *cardes* called *Tarocs* "or *Terreſtriall* TRIUMPHS. The following paſſage however from Ben Jonſon (which I hope Mr. Whalley has not overlooked on this occaſion) will probably convince us that he was not miſtaken in ſo obvious and unqueſtionable a derivation.

"Except the four Knaves entertain'd for the Guards,
"Of the Kings and the Queens, that TRIUMPH in
"the *Cardes*."

(*Maſque of the Fortunate Iſles*, 650.)

I have

I have been thus minute in my explanation of this matter, that the reader may be enabled to ſee the following paſſage of Spenſer in a new point of view; as it is ſingularly calculated to illuſtrate not only this particular inſtance, but more eſpecially the general doctrine of the aſſociating principle. In this paſſage, terms, which are derived from *cards*, have been combined, and applied to a ſubject totally remote from that, by which they were connected in the ſubject of the Poet.

"Thenceforth the fether in her lofty creſt,
"*Ruffed* of love, gan lowly to availe,
"And her prowd portance and her princely geſt
"With which ſhe earſt *triumphed* now did quaile."
(Fairy Queen, B. iii. C. 2. 27.)

"As England was his faithful tributary;
"As love between them like the palm might flouriſh;
"As peace ſhould ſtill her wheaten garland wear,
"And ſtand a comma 'tween their amities;
"And many ſuch like ASES of great *charge*,
"That on the view and knowing of theſe contents
"Without debatement further, more, or leſs,
"He ſhould the *bearers* put to ſudden death,
"Not ſhriving time allow'd."
(Hamlet, Act V. S. ii.)

"*Aſſes* heavily loaded." (Says Dr. Johnſon) "A "quibble is intended between *as* the conditional "particle and *aſs* the beaſt of burthen." Mr. Malone ſeems inclined to Dr. Johnſon's opinion, and adds in ſupport of it, that the letter *s* in the particle is uſually pronounced hard in the midland counties as in the pronoun *us*. "Dr. Johnſon himſelf" (ſays Mr. Malone) "always pronounced the parti-"cle *as* hard, and ſo I have no doubt did Shakſ-"peare. It is ſo pronounced in Warwickſhire at "this day."—I do not think that a quibble was intended; though I am fully perſuaded that the phraſe ASES *of great* CHARGE, and even *bearers* in the preceding line were introduced into the Poet's mind by the ſimilar ſounds of the animal and the conditional particle. On this occaſion even Dr. Johnſon has confirmed his opinion by a quotation from *Chapman's Widow's Tears*, 1611; though it is ſomewhat difficult to conceive by what ſtrange chance he could have ſtumbled on ſo pertinent a paſſage.

"Thou muſt be the *aſs charged with crowns* to make
"way."

Our ancient Poets abound with alluſions to this uſeful though deſpiſed animal; and the familiar idea annexed to it as a beaſt of *burden* appears to have been ſo ſtrongly imprinted on their memories, that even the caſual introduction of the word or of the ſound will ſometimes raiſe an aſſociation, by which

which they are induced to employ the ordinary terms expreſſive of that quality, as *bear*, *charge*, &c. on occaſions that have not the ſmalleſt reference to the animal or its properties. I ſhall bring forward only a few paſſages in ſupport of this obſervation; in one of which the reader will perceive that the *legal* ſenſe of the equivocal word *charge* (to *apprehend* or to *take up*) has been the cauſe of a ſecond *aſſociation*, which is connected with a different ſubject, and conſequently with another train of words and ideas.

" *Menenius*, I cannot ſay, your worſhips have
" deliver'd the matter well, when I find the *aſs* in
" compound with the major part of your ſyllables:
" and though I muſt be content to *bear* with thoſe
" that ſay you are reverend grave men; yet they
" lye deadly, that tell, you have good faces."

(*Coriolanus*, Act II. S. i. p. 186.)

" That ſuch a crafty devil as his mother
" Should yield the world this *aſs!* a woman, that
" *Bears* all down with her brain."

(*Cymbeline*, Act II. S. i. p. 351.)

" *Face.* Shall he not?
" *Subtle.* If he pleaſe.
" *Surly.* To be an *aſs*.
" *Subtle.* How, Sir!

" *Mammon.* This gentleman you muſt *bear* withal; " I told you, he had no faith."

(*Jonſon's Alchemiſt*, Act II. S. iii. p. 218.)

" *Waſpe.* Sir, I would have you to underſtand, " and theſe gentlemen too, if they pleaſe—

" *Win-Wife.* With all our hearts, Sir.

" *Waſpe.* That I have a *charge*, gentlemen.

" *John.* They do *apprehend*, Sir—

" *Waſpe.* Pardon me, Sir, neither they nor you " can *apprehend* me yet. (You are an *aſs.*) I have " a young Maſter, he is now upon his making and " marring; the whole care of his well doing is now " mine."

(Jonſon's *Bartholmew Fair*, Act I. S. iv. p. 399.)

" *Quarlous.* Well, this Dry-Nurſe, I ſay ſtill, is " a delicate man.

" *Win-Wife.* And I am, for the Coſſet, his " *charge!* Did you ever ſee a fellow's face more " accuſe him for an *aſs?*

" *Quarlous.* Accuſe him? it confeſſes him one " without accuſing."

(The ſame, Act V. p. 400.)

Surely the reader cannot doubt, after the peruſal of theſe paſſages, but that ſome latent aſſociation has operated in producing the union which is here found. This combination (as I before obſerved)

I con-

I conceive to have been originally dictated by ſound rather than by ſenſe; and it is certain that the ſame equivocal word *charge* is the cauſe of the following very ſingular example of a confuſion in language and idea.

" 1 *Watch.* Never ſpeak; we *charge* you; let us obey * you to go with us.

" *Borachio.* We are likely to prove a goodly *commodity*, being taken up of theſe men's *bills*.

" *Conrade.* A commodity in queſtion, I *warrant* you. Come, we'll obey you."

(*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act III. S. iii. p. 262.)

" Here" (ſays Mr. Malone, *Appendix*, 571.) " is " a cluſter of conceits. *Commodity* was formerly as " now the uſual term for an article of merchandiſe. " To *take up*, beſides its common meaning (to *ap-* " *prehend*), was the phraſe for obtaining goods on " credit.—*Bill* was the term both for a ſingle bond " and a halberd. We have the ſame conceit in " *King Henry VI. P.* 2. *My Lord, when ſhall we go to* " *Cheapſide, and* TAKE UP COMMODITIES UPON " OUR BILLS?" Mr. Malone is certainly right; but the reader will be ſomewhat ſurpriſed, when he ſees the words immediately preceding Mr. Malone's quotation.

* Is *obey* meant to allude by way of miſtake to the legal phraſe *abeyance?* In Jonſon's *Bartholmew Fair* (Act I. S. v. p. 490.) Juſtice Overdoe ſays, " I am content to be in *abeyance*, Sir, and " be *govern'd* by you."

" *Cade.*

" *Cade.* Men ſhall hold of me *in capite*; and we
" CHARGE* and command, that their wives be as
" free as heart can wiſh, or tongue can tell.
" *Dick.* My Lord, when ſhall we go to Cheap-
" ſide, and *take up commodities upon our bills?*"
(Act IV. S. vii. p. 227.)

Our Poet has again quibbled upon this equivocal word *bill* in *As You Like It.*

" *Le Beau.* Three proper young men, of excel-
lent growth and preſence:—
" *Roſ.* With *bills* on their necks,—*Be it known*
" *unto all men by theſe preſents.*"
(Act I. S. ii. p. 129.)

Theſe ſurely are very ſingular inſtances of the various and whimſical effects, which this propenſity in the mind to *aſſociate* produces on the language and ſentiments of a Poet.

" And lips, O you
" The doors of breath, *ſeal* with a righteous kiſs
" A *dateleſs* bargain to ENGROSSING death."
(*Romeo and Juliet*, Act V. S. iii. p. 168.)

* It is ſomewhat ſingular that ſo many terms of *Trade* and *Law*, with reſpect to ſeizing of the perſon, ſhould be the ſame: *Charge—take up—warrant—bill.*

Mr.

Mr. Malone thinks that ENGROSSING is here uſed in its *clerical* or legal ſenſe. The reader however will ſurely be of opinion, that no adequate meaning can be annexed to *engroſſing Death* under ſuch an interpretation. The ſenſe, which the word commonly bears, was certainly intended by the Poet, though he was led to make uſe of this peculiar term by the legal ideas with which it is connected. It is however ſomewhat extraordinary, that the writer himſelf ſhould not have been impreſſed with the effect of ſo glaring an ambiguity. There is no ſubject, from which our Poet is ſo delighted to draw his alluſions, as the *Seal* and *Bond*. Our Commentators have not, I believe, obſerved the ſtrange coincidence between this laſt ſpeech of Romeo, and a former one at the beginning of the play, in which he anticipates his approaching misfortunes.

" O, here,
" Will I ſet up my everlaſting reſt;
" And ſhake the yoke of inauſpicious *ſtars*
" From this world-wearied fleſh.—Eyes, look your
" laſt!
" Arms, take your laſt embrace! and lips, O you
" The doors of breath, *ſeal* with a righteous kiſs
" A *dateleſs bargain* to engroſſing death!
" Come, bitter conduct, come unſavoury guide!
" Thou deſperate pilot, now at once run on
" The daſhing rocks, thy *ſea-ſick* weary *bark!*"

" *Romeo.*

" *Romeo.* ——My mind miſgives,
" Some conſequence, yet hanging in the *ſtars*,
" Shall *bitterly* begin his fearful *date*
" With this night's revels; and *expire the term*
" Of a deſpiſed life, *clos'd* in my breaſt,
" By ſome vile *forfeit* of untimely death:
" But he, that hath the *ſteerage* of my *courſe*,
" Direct my *ſail!*"
(*Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. S. iv. p. 44.)

The curious reader will not fail to obſerve that the ideas drawn from the *Stars*, the *Law*, and the *Sea*, ſucceed each other in the ſame order, though with a different application, in both ſpeeches. We may add likewiſe, that the *bitter* cauſe of Romeo's death is to be found in the latter ſpeech; though I am well aware that the word *bitterly* was ſuggeſted to the Poet by the impreſſion on his mind of the peculiar ſpecies of death, which he had himſelf deſtined for the character; and that it was not intentionally ſelected for the purpoſe of attributing to Romeo a preſentiment of the *mode*, by which the *date* of his exiſtence was to *expire*.—This ſingular coincidence in the accumulation of images apparently ſo remote cannot ſurely be conſidered as the effect of chance, or as the product of imitation. It is certainly derived from ſome latent aſſociation; which I have in vain attempted to diſcover. There is ſcarcely a play of our Author, where we do not find

find ſome favourite vein of metaphor or alluſion by which it is diſtinguiſhed.

" *Helenus.* No marvel, though you *bite* ſo ſharp
" at REASONS,
" You are ſo empty of them."
(*Troilus and Creſſida*, Act II. S. ii. p. 190-1.)

" Here" (ſays Mr. Malone) " is a wretched " quibble between *reaſons* and *raiſins*; which in " Shakſpeare's time were, I believe, pronounced " alike. *Dogberry* in *Much Ado About Nothing* plays " upon the ſame words: *If Juſtice cannot tame you,* " *ſhe ſhall ne'er* WEIGH *more* REASONS *in her balance.*" Theſe words are, I believe, at preſent pronounced alike by the vulgar and the affected. Among the former *reaſon* is ſounded *raiſin*, and by the latter *raiſin* is ſoftened into *reaſon*. No quibble however was intended by Shakſpeare in the ſpeech of Helenus. He himſelf was inadvertently entangled in this equivocal term *bite* by the ſimilarity of the ſounds *reaſons* and *raiſins*, and by the metaphor derived from *weighing* in a former ſpeech. Theſe conſtitute the *intended* quibble in the ſpeech of *Dogberry*, and the reader will perceive by the context of the paſſage in *Troilus and Creſſida*, that they have

have betrayed the unwary writer into the ſuſpicious appearance of an equivocal ſentence.

" *Troilus.* Fie, fie, my brother!
" *Weigh* you the worth and honour of a King,
" So great as our dread father, in a *ſcale*
" Of common *ounces?* Will you with counters ſum
" The paſt proportion of his infinite?
" And buckle in a waiſt moſt fathomleſs,
" With ſpans and inches ſo diminutive
" As fears and reaſons? fie for godly ſhame.
" *Hel.* No marvel, though you *bite* ſo ſharp at
" REASONS,
" You are ſo empty of them."

This ſame equivocal ſound has in the following paſſage betrayed our Poet into a term taken from the *ſhops*, and perhaps into another derived from the *kitchens*.

" An exact command,—
" LARDED with many ſeveral SORTS *of reaſons.*"
(*Hamlet*, Act V. S. ii. p. 402.)

" I am afraid" (ſays Mr. Malone) " here is a " very poor conceit, founded on an equivoque be- " tween *reaſons* and *raiſins*, which in Shakſpeare's " time were undoubtedly pronounced alike. SORTS " of *raiſins*, ſugars, &c. is the common phraſeology " of ſhops." Mr. Malone is certainly right reſpecting the origin of the term, though he is deceived

ceived in imagining that ſuch a *conceit* was *intended* by our Poet.—That Shakſpeare was reminded of the term *larded*, by its application to *culinary* matters, may be gathered from the following paſſage:

" To what form, but that he is, ſhould wit *larded*
" with malice, and malice *forced* with wit, turn him
" to." (*Troilus and Creſſida*, p. 273.)

" *Stuffed* with wit," (ſays Dr. Johnſon) " A term of
" *cookery*." I believe, that here likewiſe Shakſpeare was unconſcious of the ſource from which theſe terms were derived.—If I might venture to conjecture; I ſhould obſerve, that the double meaning of this equivocal ſound has likewiſe induced our Poet to convert his *reaſons* into *tangible ſubſtances*. So in *Henry IV.* (1ſt Part, Act II. S. iv. p. 175.) Falſtaff ſays, " Give you a reaſon on compulſion! " if *reaſons* were as plenty as *black-berries*, I would " give no man a reaſon upon compulſion." In *As You Like It*, we have the following paſſage:

" *Celia*. Come, *lame* me with *reaſons*.
" *Roſalind*. Then there were two couſins laid up;
" when the one ſhould be *lamed with reaſons*, and
" the other mad without any."
(Act I. S. iii. p. 137.)

The next paſſage, which I ſhall produce, is very ſingular; as in this likewiſe *reaſons* are compared to tangible ſubſtances; though the compariſon it-

ſelf

ſelf was ſuggeſted by a familiar metaphor in the language not expreſſed on the occaſion.

" *Baſſanio.* Gratiano ſpeaks an infinite deal of " nothing, more than any man in all Venice: His " REASONS are as two grains of *wheat* hid in two " buſhels of *chaff*; you ſhall ſeek all day ere you find " them; and, when you have them, they are not " worth the ſearch."

(*Merchant of Venice*, Act I. S. i. p. 9.)

This compariſon appears at the firſt view quaint and remote; till we are reminded that there exiſts a very familiar metaphor derived from *grain*, which has reference to the *powers of* REASON and the *propriety of language*. Mr. *Warton*'s comment on a paſſage of Milton will beſt explain the ſubject. (*Comus*, line 756.)

" *Lady.* I had not thought to have unlockt my lips
" In this unhallow'd air, but that this jugler
" Wou'd think to charm my judgment, as mine eyes,
" Obtruding falſe rules prankt in REASON's garb.
" I hate when vice can *boult* her arguments,
" And virtue has no tongue to check her pride.

" In the conſtruction of a Mill" (ſays Mr. Warton) " a part of the machine is called a *Boulting*-" Mill, which ſeparates the flour from the bran. " Chaucer *Nonnes*, Pr. T. 1355.

" But

" But I ne cannot *bolt it the brenne*
" As can that holy doctor Saint Auſten.

" That is, I cannot argue and ſift the matter to the " bottom, with the ſubtilty of St. Auſtin. So " Spenſer, *F. Q.* 2. 4. 24.

" Saying he now had *boulted all the floure.*

" And our Author himſelf, *Animadv. Remonſt.* Def. " &c.

" To *ſift* maſs into no maſs, and popiſh into no " popiſh: Yet ſaving this paſſing fine *ſophiſtical* " *boulting* Hutch, &c. (Proſe Works, vol. i. 84.)

" In ſome of the Inns of Court, I believe the exer- " ciſes or diſputations in law are ſtill called *boultings.* " Hence Shakſpeare is to be explained.

" *Coriolan.* Act III. S. i. who indeed explains " himſelf.

" —Is ill ſchool'd
" In BOULTED language, *meal* and *bran* together
" He throws without diſtinction.—

" It is the ſame alluſion in the *Merchant of Venice,* " Act I. S. i.

" His reaſons are as two grains, &c *."

* This is a very favourite mode of ſpeaking among the Italians. Every one knows that the name of the famous Academy at Florence for the purification of the Italian language is derived from this metaphor. The Academy of the *Bran (della* CRUSCA) have choſen for the deviſe of their Vocabulary a *Bolting-ſieve,* and their

Such is the ingenious remark of Mr. Warton, and we may add, that it is an aſſociation of the ſame kind, which makes *Pandarus* ſay in *Troilus and Creſſida* (Act I. S. ii. p. 159.) "*Aſſes, fools, dolts!* "*chaff and bran, chaff and bran.*"—There is another paſſage in our Poet, which may likewiſe receive illuſtration from an expreſſion in Milton; and it is ſingular that this paſſage, in which REASON is again found with a very different alluſion, ſhould occur in the anſwer of Troilus to the above taunt of Helenus.

"*Hel.* No marvel, though you bite ſo ſharp at
"reaſons,
"You are ſo empty of them. Should not our father
Bear the great ſway of his affairs with reaſons,
"Becauſe your ſpeech hath none, that tells him ſo?
"*Troi.* You are for dreams and ſlumbers, bro-
"ther prieſt,
"You *fur your gloves with* REASON."

motto is *Il più bel fior ne coglie.* In this Dictionary the *flour* of Tuſcan elegance is diligently *ſifted* from the *bran* of barbarous Italian. The ornaments of the building, and the furniture of the apartments belonging to theſe Academicians, are borrowed from the ſame metaphor.—We may remember likewiſe the celebrated fable of *Boccalini*, which Mr. Addiſon, according to his cuſtom, has ſo admirably introduced (*Spectat.* No. 291.)—A Critic having with great diligence collected all the *faults* of an eminent Poet, preſented them to Apollo. The Deity received the Critic very graciouſly, and reſolved to make him a return ſuitable to his merit. He placed before him a ſack of wheat as it was juſt threſhed out of the ſheaf, and ordered him to ſeparate the *chaff* from the *corn*.—When the Critic after great labour had completed his taſk, Apollo gave him the *chaff* for his pains.

The

The obvious and general ſenſe of this paſſage would be, that the moſt trifling occurrences of human life—even to the arrangement of dreſs—are conducted by Helenus according to the principles of *reaſon*. But the queſtion is, why the Poet was induced to expreſs this ſentiment by connecting *reaſon* with the *fur* of gloves. The following quotation from *Comus*, and the comment of Mr. Warton, will explain this matter; though there is ſomething to be corrected in Mr. Warton's explanation, as it is applied to *Milton*.

" *Comus*. O fooliſhneſs of men! that lend their ears
" To the *budge* Doctors of the Stoic *fur*."
(706-7.)

" Thoſe moroſe and rigid teachers of abſtinence " and mortification, who wear the gown of the " Stoic Philoſophy. *Budge* is *fur*, anciently an or- " nament of the Scholaſtic habit. In the more " ancient Colleges of our Univerſities, the annual " expences for furring the robes and liveries of the " Fellows, appear to have been very conſiderable. " The 'Stoic *fur*' is as much as if he had ſaid, the " Stoic ſect. But he explains the obſolete word " in which there is a tincture of ridicule, by a very " awkward tautology *. Mr. Bowle here cites a

* Mr. Warton in this reſpect is certainly wrong. Milton knew not, or had forgotten, the original meaning of the word *budge*, and he applied it in the ordinary ſenſe, which is annexed to it at preſent. This familiar ſignification however of *pedantical* or *ſolemn nonſenſe*

" paſſage from Stowe's *Survey of London*, Edit. " 1618. p. 455.—BUDGE ROWE, *a ſtreate ſo called*

nonſenſe is certainly derived from *budge* being the dreſs of pedants. That Milton was unconſcious in the preſent caſe of the ancient meaning of *budge*, may be proved by the line, as it originally ſtood.

" By the *budge* Doctors of the Stoic GOWNE."

In the MS. of Trinity College, Cambridge, *gowne* is the word firſt written, which is expunged by a line drawn over it, and *fur* ſubſtituted above. Milton certainly would never have intentionally preferred a word, which ſerved but to introduce an " awk- " ward tautology." We learn by experience, that writers only of the preſent age—Theologues of great note—are accuſtomed on mature *deliberation* to correct themſelves into errors.—(See ſomething of this kind ſuggeſted by an illuſtrious Critic in the caſe of *Archdeacon Travis*, page 110.

" O theſe *deliberate* *****! when they do *chooſe*,
" They have the wiſdom by their wit to loſe."
(*Merchant of Venice*, Act II. S. ix. p. 48.)

With reſpect to this very curious MS. of Milton in the Library of Trinity College, I muſt inform the reader of taſte, who is deſirous of tracing the progreſs of emendation as it paſſed in the mind of Milton, that he will gain but little knowledge on this head by the preſent ſtate of the collation. When, for example, in that line of *Comus*, (982.)

" Of Heſperus and his daughters three,"

we find in the collation as a ſpecimen of the various reading

" Of *Atlas* and his *nieces* three;"

we ſee nothing of the curious part belonging to this correction, nor indeed does it give us a juſt idea of the original paſſage.

The

" *of Budge, furre, and of Skinners dwelling there.* I " find, the place and name ſtill remain."

The following is the exact ſtate, in which the line appears in the MS.

Heſperus ~~neeces~~
" Of ~~Atlas~~ and his ~~daughters~~ three."

We ſee here that the line was originally written,

" Of Atlas and his daughters three."

Milton then probably diſcovered that theſe virgins were not the daughters, but the *nieces* of Atlas. The line then in its next ſtate would appear thus,

neeces
" Of Atlas and his ~~daughters~~ three."

He then perhaps began to perceive that *nieces* was not a word ſufficiently accommodated to the dignity of Poetry, and to remember moreover that *Heſperus* was the father of the *Heſperides*. He therefore eraſed *Atlas* and *nieces*—inſerted *Heſperus* over the former, and by a line drawn under *daughters*, ſignified that *daughters* was again to be reſtored. Such is the preſent ſtate of the line, as it appears in the MS.; and ſuch *certainly* were the progreſſive ſteps of Milton's alteration.—It is common in this MS. to place a line under a word which is eraſed, when it is intended that the original word ſhould be reſtored. Thus in the printed copies of *Comus* the following line is read thus,

" But here thy ſword can do thee *little ſtead*." (611.)

In the MS. the two laſt words are thus written,

" ~~little ſtead~~."
~~ſmall avails~~.

Sometimes to " make aſſurance double ſure," the original word, which is intended to be reſtored, is likewiſe annexed to the margin. So in the printed copies we find,

" Their faith, their *patience*, and their truth." (971.)

Surely no one can doubt but that Shakſpeare was led by the Scholaſtic habit into this remote combination of *fur* with *reaſon*. He has in another place directly connected this ornament of *fur* with *gravity* and *dignity*.

" Robes and *furr'd* gowns hide all."
(*Lear*, Act IV. S. vi. p. 646.)

This is certain. If I might venture however a conjecture on the above paſſage, I ſhould give the reader ſtill further to underſtand, why *gloves* were choſen by the Poet on this occaſion in preference to any other part of the dreſs of Helenus.—The ſubject, on which the ſons of Priam are debating, is the *continuance* of the *war*. Troilus approves of it, and thus replies to Helenus, who oppoſes him.

" You are for dreams and ſlumbers, brother prieſt,
" You *fur your gloves with reaſon*. Here are your
" reaſons:
" You know, an enemy intends you harm;
" You know, a ſword employ'd is perilous,
" And reaſon flies the object of all harm:

In the MS. the line is thus written,

" Thire faith thire ~~patience~~ and thire truth.
patience.
~~temperance~~.

Milton ſeems to have borrowed his *daughters* of *Atlas* from Jonſon's Maſque, in which *Comus* is introduced, p. 604. (Ed. 1692.)—This has eſcaped the diligence of Mr. Warton.

" Who

" Who marvels then, when Helenus beholds
" A Grecian and his ſword, if he do ſet
" The very wings of reaſon to his heels;
" And fly like chidden Mercury from Jove,
" Or like a ſtar diſorb'd? Nay, if we talk of reaſon,
" Let's ſhut our gates and ſleep: Manhood and ho-
" nour
" Should have hare hearts, would they but fat
" their thoughts
" With this cramm'd reaſon: reaſon and reſpect
" Make livers pale, and luſtihood deject."

I conjecture that *gloves* were ſuggeſted to our Bard; becauſe throwing of the *glove* was the ordinary denunciation of contention. The ſenſe of the paſſage will then be, that all the deliberations of Helenus with regard to *War* are infected with the *timid* maxims of *reaſon* and *reſpect*. 'You fur' (ſays Troilus) 'the *glove* of the *warrior* with the *ſcruples* 'of the *prieſt*.' Troilus ſeems to rejoice much in this metaphor. In the parting ſcene between himſelf and Creſſida, he offers *to throw his glove* on a very hazardous occaſion at a tremendous perſonage indeed,

" I ſpeak not, *be thou true*, as fearing thee;
" For I will *throw my* GLOVE to DEATH himſelf,
" That there's no maculation in thy heart."
(Act IV. S. iv. p. 252.)

I ſhall take occaſion from another paſſage in the parting ſcene between Troilus and Creſſida to illuſ-

trate our theory with a vein of alluſions, which I have once marked in the preceding note. The rapid imagination of the unwary Poet, even when it is employed on ſentiments the moſt tender and pathetic, is ſometimes imperceptibly entangled in a chain of imagery, which is derived from the meaneſt ſubjects and the loweſt occupations.

" *Troilus.* Injurious time now, with a robber's
" haſte,
" Crams his rich thievery up, he knows not how.
" As many farewels, as be ſtars in heaven,
" With diſtinct breath, and conſign'd kiſſes to them,
" He fumbles up into a looſe adieu;
" And *ſcants* us with a ſingle *famiſh'd* kiſs,
" *Diſtaſted* with the *ſalt* of BROKEN tears."
(Act III. S. iv. p. 250-1.)

That is, ſays Mr. Malone, " of *tears*, to which we " are not permitted to give full vent, being inter- " rupted and ſuddenly torn from each other. The " Poet was probably thinking of *broken ſobs* or " *broken ſlumbers.*" This word was certainly ſuggeſted to him by the *culinary* language, and the ideas annexed to it, into which he has fallen;—*Scants*—*famiſhed*—*diſtaſted*—*ſalt*. He was certainly thinking of *broken* MEATS—*orts* or *fragments*. In this very play we have

" *Orts* of her love,
" The *fragments*, *ſcraps*, the *bits* and greaſy reliques
" Of her o'er eaten faith, are bound to Diomed."
(Act V. S. i. p. 285.)

" —'Tis

" ——————'Tis not in thee,
" ——————to *ſcant* my *ſizes.*"
(*Lear*, Act II. S. iv. p. 569.)

" *Antony.* Well, my good fellows, wait on me to
" night;
" *Scant* not my cups."
(*Antony and Cleopatra*, Act IV. S. ii. p. 542.)

" *Antony.* I found you as a morſel, cold upon
" Dead Cæſar's trencher: nay, you were a *fragment*
" Of Cneius' Pompey's."
(Id. Act III. S. ii. p. 536.)

In old Engliſh, as at preſent, *fragments and* BROKEN *meat* were ſynonimous. In the vulgar tranſlation of the Bible we have; " So they did eat and were " filled: and they took up of the BROKEN meat " that was left ſeven baſkets." (*Mark*, viii. v. 8.) In other places we find *fragments* uſed for theſe *broken* relicts. (See *Matthew*, xiv. 20. *Mark*, vi. 43. &c. viii. v, 19, 20. *John*, vi. 12, 13.)

There is a very remarkable inſtance in the *Lover's Complaint* (350.), where our Poet has again fallen, unconſcious of his danger, into this humble train of *culinary* or *domeſtick* imagery.

" Oft did ſhe heave her napkin to her eyne,
" Which on it had conceited characters,
" *Laund'ring*

" *Laund'ring* the ſilken figures in the *brine*
" That *ſeaſon'd* woe had *pelleted* in tears,
" And often reading what contents it bears;
" As often ſhrieking undiſtinguiſh'd woe,
" In clamours of all *ſize*, both high and low."

" *Pelleted*," ſays Mr. Steevens, " is from the " *kitchen*. *Pellet* was the ancient culinary term for " a *forced meat ball*, a well-known *ſeaſoning*." Mr. Steevens is certainly right, and the reader will perceive that the terms, with which this word is ſurrounded, are derived from the lower objects of domeſtic occupation—*Laund'ring*—*brine*—*ſeaſon'd*—*ſize*. The familiar metaphor of the *brine of tears* has forced on the Poet this peculiar vein of language, though the ideas connected with it were certainly not preſent to his mind. *Pelleted* is again uſed with another term derived from the ſame ſource in *Antony and Cleopatra*.

" By the *diſcandying* of this *pelleted* ſtorm."
(Act III. S. ii. p. 538.)

Diſcandying is the diſſolving what is *candied*. So in this ſame play,

" Their wiſhes do *diſcandy* *, melt their *ſweets*."
(Act IV. S. x. p. 557.)

* The whole of this paſſage and the ſucceeding quotations are well worthy of the reader's attention.

" *Antony*. Fortune and Antony part here; even here
" Do we ſhake hands. All come to this?—The hearts,
" That

We have had frequent occaſion of obſerving in the courſe of our enquiry, that the Bard has been

" That *ſpaniel'd me at heels*, to whom I gave
" Their wiſhes, do *diſcandy*; melt their ſweets
" On bloſſoming Cæſar."
(Antony and Cleopatra, Act IV. S. x. p. 557.)

" No let the *candy*'d tongue *lick* abſurd pomp;
" And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,
" Where thrift may follow *fawning*."
(Hamlet, Act III. S. ii. p. 302.)

" Will theſe moiſt trees,
" That have outliv'd the eagle, *page* thy *heels*
" And ſkip when thou point'ſt out? Will the cold brook,
" *Candied* with ice, caudle thy morning taſte,
" To cure thy o'er night's ſurfeit?"
(Timon of Athens, Act IV. S. iii. p. 101.)

" Why what a *candy* deal of courteſy,
" This *fawning greyhound* then did proffer me!"
(Henry IV. Part I. Act I. S. iii. p. 144.)

Theſe paſſages are very ſingular. The curious reader will obſerve that the *fawning obſequiouſneſs* of an animal, or an attendant, is connected with the word *candy*. The cauſe of this ſtrange aſſociation I am unable to diſcover; though the reader muſt know but little of the human mind—of Shakſpeare—or even of the ordinary doctrine of *chances*, if he imagines that theſe matters were in *four* paſſages connected by *accident*.—When the reader ſhall be convinced reſpecting the truth of this obſervation; his curioſity will be much gratified by the following lines from the *Tempeſt*; in which he will perceive that the ſame aſſociation ſtill occupied the mind of the Poet, though a ſingle *word* only is apparent, which relates to one portion of the preceding metaphor.

" *Sel.*

betrayed into theſe aſſociations, when ſome portion of the imagery is found among his favourite allu-

" *Seb.* But, for your conſcience—
" *Ant.* Ay, Sir; where lies that? if it were a *kybe*,
" 'Twould put me to my ſlipper; but I feel not
" This deity in my boſom: twenty conſciences,
" That ſtand 'twixt me and Milan, *candy'd* be they,
" And *melt*, ere they moleſt." (Act II. S. i. p. 45.)

Surely the reader cannot doubt but that the introduction of the word *kybe* is to be referred to the former expreſſions, " page thy " *heels*;"—" ſpaniel'd me at *heels*," though it is applied to a very different metaphor. Let me add, that the quaintneſs of the imagery is an argument for the remoteneſs of the original.

Though I cannot explain to the reader the cauſe of this aſſociation between the term *candy* and the *fawning of a dog*; I can diminiſh his ſurpriſe reſpecting its exiſtence, by producing another caſe, which contains a direct union between this animal and an idea equally remote; and which certainly would have appeared altogether as extraordinary, unleſs we had poſſeſſed a clue to unravel the myſtery. What ſhould we ſay, were we to find in an ancient Greek writer a combination between the *fawning of a dog* and the *cleanſing of hands*. The union however is ſo intimate, that among the Lacedemonians the name for the ſubſtance, which they ſometimes uſed for cleanſing of the hands, is derived from the animal. In the *Odyſſey* we have

Ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα ΚΥΝΕΣ ΔΑΙΤΘΕΝ ἰόντα
ΣΑΙΝΩΣ', (αἰεὶ γάρ τε φέρει μειλίγματα θυμῷ). K. 216-7.
Ut vero circa dominum *canes e convivio* profectum
Adulantur, (ſemper enim ſert delinimenta animi.)

If HOMER in this paſſage, inſtead of deſcribing the " dogs " fawning" round the chief as he came from the *feaſt*, had repreſented them as fawning about him, when he came from *cleanſing* his

sions. The truth is, that when a phrase has once become familiar to our thoughts, we insensibly

his hands, the image would have been more definite and precise; since the *fawning* of these animals is no otherwise connected with the coming from the *feast* than as the *cleansing of the hands* was a part of the ceremony which usually belonged to it.—The case is, that it was a custom with the ancient Greeks to *wipe their hands* at feasts with the soft mealy part of bread called μαγδαλιά or ἀπομαγδαλιά; and afterwards to throw it to the Dogs. Hence among the Lacedemonians the μαγδαλιά obtained the name of ΚΥΝΑΣ. The accounts of *Hesychius* and *Pollux* will be sufficient for our purpose. ΑΠΟΜΑΓΔΑΛΙΑ (says the former) στέαρ, ἐν ᾧ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπεμάττοντο ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, βαλόντες δὲ αὐτὸ τοῖς ΚΥΣΙΝ, ἀναλύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν δείπνων. Apomagdalia est massa farinaria, quâ abstergebant manus in conviviis, id *canibus* projicientes quum a cœna discederent.—*Julius Pollux* thus explains it. Οἱ δὲ πάλαι ταῖς καλουμέναις ΑΠΟΜΑΓΔΑΛΙΑΙΣ ἐχρῶντο, αἳ ἦσαν τὸ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ μαλακὸν καὶ γαιτῶδες, εἰς ὃ ἀποψησάμενοι, τοῖς ΚΥΣΙΝ αὐτὸ παρέβαλλον· ὅθεν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ΚΥΝΑΔΑ τὴν ΑΠΟΜΑΓΔΑΛΙΑΝ καλοῦσιν. ὑποδηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὅμηρος.

Ὡς δ' ὅταν, &c.

Veteres autem Apomagdaliis utebantur, quæ sunt mollissima in pane pars & farinosa, quâ cum abstersi essent, canibus hanc projiciebant. Unde & Lacedæmonii Caniculam apomagdaliam vocant." (Lib. vi. C. 14.—Hence the proverb, ΚΥΩΝ ΖΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΜΑΓΔΑΛΙΑΣ, Canis vivens e magdaliâ, is applied to parasites, and to those who subsist on the meanest kind of food. Such (as we may express it in the language of our Poet) is the *rump-fed* Orator in the *Knights of Aristophanes*, who tells *Cleon*, that he can beat him at his own weapons of impudence, *or a plague of his bringing up*.

Ὑπερβαλεῖσθαί σ' οἴομαι τούτοισιν, ἢ μάτην γ' ἂν
ΑΠΟΜΑΓΔΑΛΙΑΣ σιτούμενος τοσοῦτος ἐκτραφείην.

Censeo me superaturum te in hujusmodi rebus, aut frustra quidem apomagdalia pastus, tantus enutritus sim. (Equit. 413-4.)——

Who

forget that the terms, which compose it, are appropriate and peculiar. Shakspeare is frequent in the metaphorical application of the word *season*.

Who would have supposed, that the institutions of Lycurgus had any thing in common with the arrangements of modern fashion—that the *compressed* or *indented* ἀπομαγδαλιά was the excluding *black-ball* in the *Clubs* of Lacedæmon?—The curious reader will be gratified by the account which *Plutarch* has given us of this custom in his life of *Lycurgus*. "Δοκιμάζεσθαι δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον τοῦ συσσιτίου μετασχεῖν, οὕτω φασί· λαβὼν τῶν συσσίτων ἕκαστος ΑΠΟΜΑΓΔΑΛΙΑΝ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, τοῦ διακόνου φέροντος ἀγγεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἔβαλε σιωπῇ καθάπερ ψῆφον· ὁ μὲν δοκιμάζων ἁπλῶς, ὁ δὲ κρίνων σφόδρα τῇ χειρὶ ΠΙΕΣΑΣ. ἡγὰρ ΠΕΠΙΕΣΜΕΝΗ τῆς τετρημένης ἔχει δύναμιν, κἂν μίαν εὕρωσι τοιαύτην, οὐ προσδέχονται τὸν ἐπεισιόντα, βουλόμενοι πάντας ἡδυμένους ἀλλήλοις συνιέναι· τὸν δὲ οὕτως ἀποδοκιμαθέντα κεκαδδεῖσθαι λέγουσι· κάδδος γὰρ καλεῖται τὸ ἀγγεῖον εἰς ὃ τὰς ἀπομαγδαλίας ἐμβάλλουσι. Qui admitti desiderabant ad convivium, hoc modo probari aiunt solitos. Quisque convictor bucceam manu tenebat, id in vas quod ferebat in capite minister, ut calculum jaciebat tacitus: qui probaret, simpliciter: qui reprobaret, manu valde compressum. Nam compressum perforati calculi vim habet, nec si unum tale repererint, recipiunt ingredientem: quippe qui velint omnes invicem jucunde congredi. Eum qui ita est rejectus κεκαδδεῖσθαι dicunt: κάδδος enim vas nominatur, in quod frusta illa conjiciunt." (*Plut. Lycurg. Vit.* Vol. i. p. 100. Ed Bryan.)

As I have wandered thus far out of my way, let me be permitted to propose a conjecture or two referring to this subject for the consideration of the learned.—1st, May not ano her Greek proverb, Τί κοινὸν ΚΥΝΙ καὶ βαλανείῳ, *Quid commune* CANI *cum balneo*, refer to the above custom of feeding the dogs with the ἀπομαγδαλιά? For the difficulty in explaining the proverb consists in discovering what middle idea suggested this juxta position of the *Dog and the Bath*, as there are numberless other places, at which the presence of a dog would be equally impertinent and unnecessary.—If we should imagine that the ἀπομαγδαλιά was anciently used in *Baths* likewise

" But I alone, alone muſt ſit and pine,
" *Seaſoning* the earth with ſhowers of ſilver *brine*."
(Rape of Lucrece, p. 131.)

likewiſe for the purpoſe of *wiping* the ſkin, we may well conceive the proverb to have ariſen in latter times, when this cuſtom came into diſuſe. The meaning of it will then be, 'What have the 'Dogs *now* to do with the Bath, when the reaſon for which they 'were accuſtomed to attend it, is no more—when the Bath no 'longer furniſhes materials for their food.'—If the ἀπομαγδαλιά was *not* uſed at Baths, then the turn of the proverb will be, 'What have the Dogs to do with the Bath—as the ſubſtance for 'cleanſing the ſkin, which is the food of *Dogs*, is not uſed at 'Baths, but only at *Feaſts*?' In ſhort, whatever was the practice reſpecting the uſe of the ἀπομαγδαλιά; I mean only to aſk, whether the two proverbs, ΚΥΩΝ ζῶ, ἀπὸ μαγδαλίας, and Τί κοινὸν ΚΥΝΙ καὶ βαλανείῳ, have not a common origin? And whether the latter proverb is not connected with the former by the intermediate idea of the *cleanſing* ſubſtance, called ἀπομαγδαλιά, being the *food* of Dogs?—*Eraſmus* has not given us the origin of the latter proverb, nor has he referred the one to the other. In the *Paraſite* of Lucian, the proverb is brought back in its application to the very ſpot from which I ſuppoſe it to have been originally derived. " Καὶ ἴμοι γε δοκεῖ, ἐν ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΩ φιλόσοφος τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, οἷον ἐν βαλανείῳ κύων. Ac mea ſententia tale quid in *cœna* philoſophus, quale canis in balneo." *(Lucian. Paraſit.* § 51. Tom. ii. p. 876. Edit. Reitz.)

2d. Is not the ſtandard jeſt of the Comedians, ΠΙΕΖΟΜΑΙ, derived from the ἀπομαγδαλιὰ ΠΕΠΙΕΣΜΕΝΗ of the *feaſt*?

ΞΑ. Εἶπω τι τῶν εἰωθότων, ὦ δέσποτα
Ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν γελῶσιν οἱ θεώμενοι;
Δ'. Νὴ τὸν Δι', ὃ,τι βούλει γε, πλὴν ΠΙΕΖΟΜΑΙ.

XA. Loquarne here uſitata, & quorum gratia
Riſum ſubinde edere ſpectatores ſolent.
BA. Imo ut luhet: modo ne iſtud proferas, PREMOR.
(Ariſtoph. Ran. v. 1, &c.)

I am

Where Mr. Malone has produced a parallel paſſage from *All's Well that Ends Well:* "*Tears*—the "beſt *brine* a maiden can *ſeaſon* her praiſe in." (Act I. S. i.)

I am aware that in this paſſage the original meaning of the term has diſappeared, and that the *exquiſite merriment* of the jeſt (as it is afterwards explained) is connected with the carrying of a burden and with a very groſs idea, which is perpetually brought forward in *Ariſtophanes;* and which is eaſily deduced from the word itſelf; as in our own language, and I believe in moſt others, the ſame metaphor is to be found.—I am inclined however to think, that the term and the jeſt were originally derived from the *feaſt*, whatever might have been the particular idea, with which it was afterwards connected. I imagine that the jeſter at entertainments, known by the name of γελωτοποιὸς, was the original proprietor of the joke; who, as he was never admitted as one of the regular members of the Club, might complain with ſufficient humour for the perſon and the occaſion that he had the misfortune of being one of the συζόμενοι—of thoſe who were *preſſed* out of the Club, and thereby out of their dinner. We know that a part of the jeſt was connected with the carrying of a burden. This again refers it to the *feaſt*. May we not conceive that the burden originated from the συμβολαί, which each perſon carried or cauſed to be carried with him as his ſhare in the contribution of the *Club*-dinner. Now as it is well known, that the γελωτοποιὸς never contributed his ſhare with the reſt of the gueſts, we may well conceive what a field of merriment would be open on ſuch an occaſion to ſo determined a wag; and what facetious modes he would deviſe of repreſenting to his audience the labour of himſelf or his attendant in the conveying of a baſket which *abounded* with—*no* proviſions; and of deſcribing the *preſſure* of a burden, in which there was *nothing* for the back and nothing for the belly. Let it be obſerved, that the jeſt would continue to be uſed with the ſame alluſion, even though the feaſt ſhould not be of that ſort, in which the συμβολαὶ

was

To which I ſhall add the following. "Is not—
"virtue, youth, liberality, and ſuch like, the *ſpice*
"and *ſalt*, that *ſeaſon* a man? (*Troilus and Creſſida*, Act I. S. ii. p. 159.)

was contributed. We find in the preceding quotation, that the excluding ἀπομαγδαλιά was preſſed with conſiderable force ΣΦΟΔΡΑ πιπισμένη. Hence perhaps the whole equivoque of the burden, and the excluſion with an indirect reference to the jeſt of the Comedians, may be comprehended under the Engliſh words—HARD PRESSED.—What party could reſiſt the ſuperlative merriment of a jeſter, who ſhould plead for admiſſion into the Club, by obſerving that his attendant was HARD PRESSED—BY *no* dinner and TO *no* dinner? If the reader ſhould be already ſomewhat favourable to my hypotheſis, and imagine that the mode, in which I deduce this jeſt from the feaſt, is at once eaſy and probable; what will he ſay, when I actually lay before him a paſſage, in which every thing takes place preciſely as I have ſtated it?—where the γελοιοποιὸς preſents himſelf at an ENTERTAINMENT, and prays to be admitted into the party, by ſaying that he comes prepared with all the neceſſaries for feaſting—on the good things of *others*, and that his attendant is MUCH PRESSED—by carrying *no burden* and having *no dinner*. This ſingular paſſage (which has eſcaped the diligence of the Commentators on *Ariſtophanes*) occurs in the *Sympoſium* of *Xenophon*. Φίλιππος δ' ὁ ΓΕΛΩΤΟΠΟΙΟΣ, κρούσας τὴν θύραν, ἵνα τῷ ὑπηκόῳ εἰσαγγέλμασι ὅτις τε εἴη, καὶ διὰ τί καλέσαιτο ὁ ὑπνοῦ. συνεσκευασμένος τε παρεῖναι ἔφη πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὥστε δειπνῆσαι τελέως. καὶ τὸν παῖδα δὲ ἔφη ΠΑΝΤ ΠΙΕΣΕΣΘΑΙ διά τι τὸ ΦΕΡΕΙΝ ΜΗΔΕΝ, καὶ διὰτὸ ΑΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ εἶναι. Philippus *autem joculator quum fores pulſaſſet, juſſit miniſtro audienti ut renunciaret qui eſſet & quam ob cauſam ibi divertere vellet, dicebatq; ſe inſtructum eſſe iis omnibus quibus opus eſſet ad cœnandum de alieno; & puerum* ADMODUM PREMI, *tum quod* NIHIL AFFERRET *tum quod* IMPRANSUS ESSET." (Sympoſ. ad init.)—(Vide etiam *Athenæum*, ubi hic locus citatur, Lib. xiv. 1.)——This paſſage is too pointed and ſignificant to admit of any com-

" Jeſu Maria! What a deal of *brine*
" Hath waſh'd thy ſallow cheeks for Roſaline!
" How much ſalt water thrown away in waſte,
" To *ſeaſon* love, that of it doth not taſte!"
(Romeo and Juliet, Act II. S. iii. p. 71.)

" And water once a day her chamber round
" With eye offending *brine:* all this, to *ſeaſon*
" A brother's dead love, which ſhe would *keep freſh*,
" And laſting, in her ſad remembrance."
(Twelfth Night, Act I. S. i.)

This will explain to Dr. Johnſon the meaning of a paſſage in *Macbeth*, (Act III. S. iv. p. 375.)

" *Lady Macb.* You lack the *ſeaſon* of all natures,
" ſleep."

commentary as an additional enforcement of the truth of my conjecture.—I truſt that it will not be neceſſary to apologize to the reader for this deviation from my ſubject, as a ſeaſonable digreſſion may be ſometimes introduced to relieve or enliven the tedious uniformity of a continued diſcuſſion. Let me obſerve, however, that there is nothing in the myſtery of writing, which I hold in ſuch utter abhorrence, as the practice of thoſe, who, in order 'to 'ſet on ſome quantity of barren' readers to admire what they call their learning, are delighted to take every occaſion of wandering from their ſubject, ſometimes by the inſertion of foreign topics, and ſometimes by tranſcribing from their own crude collections of unenlightened ſtudy, a baſe and motley farrago of ſenſeleſs quotations.—This is " villainous; and ſhews a moſt pitiful ambition " in the fool that uſes it!"

It

It is not (as he imagines) " You want ſleep, which " gives the *reliſh* to all nature," but that which *preſerves* it, and *keeps* it *freſh* and *laſting*. In the *Comedy of Errors* we have *life*-PRESERVING *reſt*. (Act V. S. i.) The following beautiful image in *Meaſure for Meaſure* muſt be thus explained.

" *Angelo*. What's this? What's this? Is this her
" fault or mine?
" The tempter or the tempted, who ſins moſt? Ha!
" Not ſhe; nor doth ſhe tempt; but it is I,
" That lying by the violet, in the ſun,
" Do, as the carrion does, not as the flower,
" *Corrupt* with *virtuous ſeaſon*."

(Act II. S. ii. p. 43.)

I am alarmed at my own temerity, when I venture to take the occaſion, which this paſſage affords me, of diſputing the truth of a celebrated emendation; which appears to have been ſanctioned by univerſal applauſe, and which a Commentator of *high renown* has pronounced " almoſt to ſet the " Critic on a level with the Author." The reader will not fail to recollect, that the paſſage, to which I refer, is the following one in *Hamlet*. It will be neceſſary on this occaſion to annex the context at full length.

" *Polonius*. Do you know me, my lord?
" *Hamlet*. Excellent well; you are a fiſhmonger.
" *Pol*. Not I, my lord.

" *Ham.* Then I would you were ſo honeſt a man.

" *Pol.* Honeſt, my lord?

" *Ham.* Ay, ſir; to be honeſt as this world goes, " is to be one man pick'd out of ten thouſand.

" *Pol.* That's very true, my lord.

" *Ham.* For if the ſun breed maggots in a dead " dog, being a GOD kiſſing carrion,—Have you a " daughter?

" *Pol.* I have, my lord.

" *Ham.* Let her not walk i'the ſun: conception " is a bleſſing, but *not as your daughter may " conceive; friend, look to't."

God is the emendation of Dr. Warburton. The original reading is GOOD, which I am firmly perſuaded proceeded from the pen of Shakſpeare. I will not however venture to maintain, that the ſenſe conveyed by the original word of the Author is in ſo lofty a ſtrain as that, which is profeſſed by the emendation of the Critic. I cannot however ſufficiently expreſs my ſurpriſe, that the original reading ſhould have been ſo univerſally abandoned, as if altogether deſtitute of meaning or propriety; nor can I refrain from obſerving, that there is ſomething in the whole paſſage, as it ſtands with the

* I read *not* with the Folio. Mr. Malone follows the Quarto, and omits the *not*. He underſtands the paſſage thus, " As your " daughter may conceive,—friend, look to't." That is, Conception is a bleſſing; but as your daughter may chance to be pregnant, be on your guard.

emendation

emendation of Dr. Warburton, which to my feeling does not entirely accord with the genuine ſpirit of the *Shakſpearian manner*. The *phyſical* operation of the *Sun* and the *metaphorical* energy of the Deity, are to my apprehenſion combined into a form, which appears not to have proceeded from the fancy of the Poet, but from the diſturbed imagination of an inflated Critic. The noble ſentiment, which has been given to *Angelo* in the preceding paſſage from *Meaſure for Meaſure*, may ſhew us the general and prominent idea, which on this occaſion, I imagine, was likewiſe impreſſed on the mind of our Poet.—He conſiders the *bleſſed** *breeding Sun* as the GOOD principle in the fecundity of the earth—as impregnating the powers of nature with that *excellent* SEASON—that *ſovereign virtue*—that rich influence, by which are produced and preſerved the beſt and the faireſt of her works.—Impreſſed with this ſen-

* When Timon is curſing mankind; he calls on the BLESSED *breeding* Sun—the GOOD *breeding* principle—to forego his ordinary office of producing *good*, and to infect the air, by drawing from the Earth its baleful and peſtiferous qualities.

" O *bleſſed breeding* Sun, draw from the Earth
" Rotten humidity, below thy ſiſter's orb
" Infect the air." (*Timon of Athens*, Act IV. S. i. p. 82.)

At the approach of night, the GOOD influence of the Sun decreaſes, and the evil powers of Nature begin to operate.

" GOOD things of *day* begin to droop and drowze;
" While Night's black agents to their preys do rouſe."
(*Macbeth*, Act 3, S. ii. p 364.)

 timent,

timent, let us carefully examine the train of reaſoning, which the whole paſſage appears to comprehend. 'There is ſcarcely at preſent' (ſays the Poet) 'any honeſty remaining in the world. All 'things are degenerated into ſo vile a nature, that 'they even become tainted by a commerce with 'thoſe objects, which are in themſelves virtuous 'and commendable. The Sun itſelf, though a 'GOOD—though in general the ſource of what is 'excellent, becomes in ſome caſes the origin of '*corruption*; ſince we find that this GOOD by operating on carrion breeds maggots in a dead dog. 'Why therefore, in ſuch a ſtate of univerſal corruption, may not your daughter herſelf be *tainted*, 'and become a BREEDER *of ſinners. Let her not 'walk in the* SUN—keep her retired and remote 'from all poſſibility of contamination—even from 'communicating with thoſe natures, which in general appear poſſeſſed of GOOD and *virtuous* principles. In a word, dread the conſequences that may 'enſue by expoſing her to the temptations of the 'world. *Conception is a bleſſing; but not as your 'daughter may conceive*—that is, Though conception 'in ſome caſes be indeed a bleſſing, yet it is not a 'bleſſing according to the corrupt mode in which 'your daughter's inclinations may induce her to 'receive it.'—Such I am firmly perſuaded is the 'ſenſe of this celebrated paſſage. Mr. Malone *ſeems* to agree with me in ſome part of the explanation, though he reads *God* with Dr. Warburton,

and

and conjectures that a "GOD KISSING *carrion*," means a *carrion* that *kiſſes the Sun* *. The reader or the commentator, who has thought it neceſſary to perſonify the Sun on this occaſion, was probably miſled by the metaphorical, or rather perhaps phyſical, ambiguity of the word *kiſſing*. I will inform him however, that the Author himſelf was induced to uſe the term by the ſame train of ideas; though he has not *applied* it in that *full* ſenſe, which is comprehended under a *perſonified agency*.

A paſſage, which Mr. Malone candidly produces as adverſe to his own explanation, is very fortunately altogether applicable to mine. The paſſage occurs in the Hiſtorical Play of *King Edward III.* (1596.), which Mr. Malone thinks Shakſpeare had *certainly ſeen*.

"The *freſheſt* ſummer's day doth ſooneſt *taint*
"The loathed *carrion* that it ſeems to *kiſs*."

* Mr. Malone likewiſe obſerves, that the expreſſion of *common-kiſſing Titan* in *Cymbeline* produced by Dr. Warburton; and the paſſage in *Henry IV.* "Did'ſt thou never ſee *Titan kiſs* a diſh of "butter?" appear to be adverſe to his regulation of the *carrion kiſſing the God*. They do not however affect the explanation, which we have given, as in our commentary the Sun is made to *kiſs*, and it is certain that when transformed into a God the ſame action may with propriety be attributed to him; but the queſtion is, why the Sun may not with equal propriety be ſuppoſed to *kiſs* under the idea of a GOOD *principle*, as under that of a *God*. Obſerve likewiſe, that this luminary is not here *perſonified*, but introduced as a *God* under the name of *Titan*, as in other places under the name of *Hyperion*.

Here we have neither Deity nor perſonification; but a GOOD—*genial* ſummer's *day*, which *refreſhes* nature with its influence, *tainting* the carrion. As in the paſſage of Shakſpeare, we have the obvious metaphor of this GOOD principle KISSING *carrion*; ſo here likewiſe we have a ſimilar poetical decoration of the *freſheſt* day LOATHING the *carrion* which it appears to KISS.—Though I will not flatter myſelf, that I have overturned this celebrated emendation of Dr. Warburton; yet I have certainly proved, that the ancient reading affords us a clear, juſt, and ſufficient ſenſe; and that it likewiſe inculcates a ſentiment, which on another occaſion has been adopted by our Poet. I might however venture to aſk, by what rule of criticiſm, a Commentator is authoriſed to diſturb an original reading of this ſort; unleſs it be for the *ingenious* purpoſe of "*al-*"*moſt* ſetting himſelf on a level with his Author[*]?"

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[*] If I have failed in producing conviction to the reader in explaining *one* part of this celebrated dialogue between *Hamlet* and *Polonius*; I ſhall be perhaps able to gratify his curioſity by throwing ſome new light upon *another*.

"*Pol.* Do you know me, my lord?

"*Ham.* Excellent well; you are a *fiſhmonger*."

Why ſhould Hamlet miſtake Polonius for a *Fiſhmonger*? Though I am not able to inform the reader reſpecting the full force and nature of the *exquiſite reaſon*, which belongs to this denomination; yet I can certainly convince him that *ſome* reaſon (ſuch as it is) exiſted in the mind of the Poet. In Jonſon's *Chriſtmas Maſque*,

" Come, thick Night,
" And PALL thee in the dunneſt ſmoke of Hell!
" That my keen KNIFE ſee not the wound it makes;
" Nor HEAVEN PEEP thro' the BLANKET of the dark,
" To cry, *Hold, hold.*"
(*Macbeth*, Act I. S. v. p. 297-8.)

" A *Pall*" (ſays Mr. Steevens) " is a robe of State,
" So in Milton's *Penſeroſo*,

" Sometime let gorgeous Tragedy,
" In ſcepter'd *pall* come ſweeping by.

" Dr. Warburton ſeems to mean the covering
" which is thrown over the dead."—" The word
" *knife*" (ſays Mr. Malone) " has been objected to,
" as being connected with the moſt ſordid offices;
" and therefore unſuitable to the great occaſion on
" which it is employed. But, however mean it

(595.) *Venus* is introduced as a Fire-Woman, and thus ſpeaks of her ſon Cupid. " I had him by my firſt huſband; he was a " Smith, forſooth; we dwelt in *Do-little-lane* then: He came a " month before his time, and that may make him ſomewhat im- " perfect: But I was a FISHMONGER's DAUGHTER."—We ſee now, that ſome opinion prevailed, which induced Hamlet, who is *ſtill harping* on the *daughter* of Polonius, to miſtake the father for a *Fiſhmonger*; though I ſhall leave others to diſcover the peculiar notion which was attached to this matter. Probably it was ſuppoſed, that the daughters of theſe tradeſmen, who dealt in ſo nouriſhing a ſpecies of food, were *bleſſed* with extraordinary powers of *conception*.—I am ſurpriſed that this paſſage has eſcaped the diligence of our Critics.

may

" may ſound to our ears, it was formerly a word " of ſufficient dignity, and is conſtantly uſed by " Shakſpeare and his contemporaries as ſynoni- " mous to *dagger*." Mr. Malone is certainly right; and the inſtances which he has produced are perfectly ſatisfactory. Amongſt the reſt, there is one from *A Warning for fair Women*, 1599, where TRAGEDY enters with a Whip in one hand, " in the " other a *Knife*."—*Blanket* (Mr. Malone obſerves) was certainly the Poet's word, and " perhaps was " ſuggeſted to him by the coarſe *woollen* curtain of " his own Theatre, through which probably, while " the houſe was yet but half lighted, he had him- " ſelf often *peep'd**."—Let not the reader ſmile at

* Sir William Davenant has altered the lines thus:

" That my keen *ſteel* ſee not the wound it makes,
" Nor heaven peep through the *curtains* of the dark."

" I do not ſee" (ſays Mr. Malone) " that much is obtained by " this laſt alteration. Sir William Davenant ſeemed not willing " to quit the bed. If I were at liberty to make any change, I " would prefer *mantle*. So in *Romeo and Juliet*,

" ——Come, civil *night*,
" With thy black *mantle*."

But why, Mr. Malone, ſhould it be neceſſary that Sir William Davenant by this alteration was unwilling to quit the *bed*? May not his *curtains*, as well as your *blanket*, be derived from the *Stage*?—You are certainly right in your conjecture, and the alteration of Sir Wm. Davenant adds weight to the hypotheſis. Obſerve likewiſe that the word *curtains* in its theatrical application ſeems generally to have been uſed in the plural number both in Shakſpeare's time and in that of Sir Wm. Davenant. In a Stage direction

this ſpecimen of conjectural criticiſm, nor imagine that it ought to be regarded only as a quaint and whimſical conceit. Nothing is more certain, than that all the images in this celebrated paſſage are borrowed from the *Stage*. Let Mr. Malone again review his own note, and that of Mr. Steevens; and he will be gratified in diſcovering how every thing coincides to favour this hypotheſis. He will obſerve, that the peculiar and appropriate dreſs of TRAGEDY perſonified is a PALL with a KNIFE.—The curioſity of Mr. Malone will perhaps be ſtill more gratified, when he recollects what he has before obſerved himſelf in his *Account of the Engliſh Stage* from *Heywood's Apology for Actors*, "that the "covering or internal roof of the Stage was an-"ciently termed the *Heavens*."—"It was probably "painted of a ſky-blue colour; or perhaps pieces

direction to a piece by the latter, we have "The ſong ended, the "*curtains* are drawn open, &c." Nay the very image, which Mr. Malone imagines to have poſſeſſed the mind of Shakſpeare, is to be found in the Prologue to the *Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir William Davenant, 1638, and refers to the cuſtoms of the theatre in the time of our Poet.

"Your ſilly anceſtors——

* * * * * * *

"There ſat on benches not adorn'd with mats,
"And graciouſly did vail their high-crown'd hats
"To every half-dreſs'd player, as he ſtill
"Through hangings *peep'd*, to ſee the galleries fill."

[Let Mr. Malone conſult his own quotations, *Hiſtory of the Stage*, p. 64 and 123.]

"of

" of drapery tinged with blue were ſuſpended " acroſs the Stage to repreſent the *Heavens.*"—(*Hiſtory of Stage*, p. 90.)—The curious reader, who for the firſt time is informed, that this extraordinary term was the known and familiar name for the viſible roof of the Stage, will certainly have much cauſe to wonder that ſo peculiar a circumſtance ſhould not have opened to the Critics an ample vein of illuſtration, which might ſucceſsfully be applied to our ancient dramatic writers, and eſpecially to *Shakſpeare*; whoſe mind (we may well conceive) muſt be perpetually occupied with every object that had reference to the Theatre. With reſpect to the paſſage before us, I imagine that the whole of this image was ſuggeſted to our Poet from the appearance of the Stage, as it was furniſhed at thoſe times when Tragedies were repreſented: it was then hung with *black* *, as Mr. Malone con-

* Mr. Malone is certainly right in this conjecture; and I am ſurpriſed that with a Shakſpearian library about him he has not produced more examples to confirm his opinion. I am perſuaded that they muſt frequently occur. A paſſage from *Thomas Dekker* in *A Strange Horſe Race*, 1613 (which Mr. Malone quotes on another occaſion in his *Theatrical Memoirs*, p. 115.) contains an alluſion to this fact, " I have often ſeen, after the finiſhing of " ſome worthy *tragedy* or cataſtrophe in the open theatres, that the " ſceane after the epilogue, hath been more *black*, about a naſty " bawdy jigge, than the moſt horrid ſceane in the play was." There is another alluſion to this circumſtance in the Preface to *Vittoria Corombona*, 1612. " In publiſhing this *Tragedy* I do but " challenge to myſelf that liberty, which other men have taken " before

jectures in his *Theatrical Memoirs* (p. 89.) though, as he ſuppoſes in another place *Rape of Lucrece*, Vol. x. pag. 129.) "this hanging was no more "than one piece of black baize placed at the back "of the Stage, in the room of the tapeſtry, which "was the common decoration when Comedies were "acted." I am perſuaded however that, on the ſame occaſions, the *Heavens*, or the Roof of the Stage, underwent likewiſe ſome gloomy transformation. The effect intended to be produced by ſuch a change conſiſted, I imagine, in conveying to the audience the idea of a dark and gloomy *Night*, in which every luminary was hidden from the view. This might perhaps be repreſented by hanging the roof of the Theatre, or the *Heavens*, with black; that is, in other words, by covering with black thoſe decorations about the roof, which were deſigned to imitate the appearance of the *Heavens*. I am led to conclude this circumſtance by the application of my preſent theory; which, I hope, is now ſo underſtood and acknowledged by the reader,

"before me; not that I affect praiſe by it, for *nos hæc novimus eſſe* "*nihil*: only, ſince it was acted in ſo open and BLACK a theatre, "that it wanted (that which is the only grace and ſetting out of a "TRAGEDY) a full and underſtanding auditory."—The Commentator (*S.*) will now perceive that his propoſed reading of *blank* for *black* in this paſſage is totally unfounded. (Old Plays, V. 6. p. 238.)—What does an *open* Theatre mean in the above quotations?—It ſeems to be particularly applied to the Theatre, when Tragedies were acted.

that

that I may ſafely aſſume it as a principle to confirm and illuſtrate a conjecture, which is itſelf neither remote nor improbable. Among the paſſages, which Mr. Malone has produced to prove that the Stage was hung with black when Tragedies were acted, the two following will convince us likewiſe that the roof of the Theatre, under the title of *Heavens*, if not diſtinguiſhed by a direct alluſion, is at leaſt latently involved in the image of the Poet.

" The *Stage* of HEAVEN is *hung* with ſolemn *black*,
" A time beſt fitting to *act Tragedies*."
(Marſton's *Inſatiate Counteſs*, 1613.)

" *Hung* be the HEAVENS with *black*, yield *day*
" to *night*."
(*K. Henry VI. Part I.* line 1.)

The paſſage, which Mr. Malone has produced from the *Rape of Lucrece*, deſerves our notice.

" *Black Stage* for *Tragedies* and murthers fell."

The reader will be ſurpriſed to find from the context, that the *black Stage for Tragedies* is the diſmal *night* of Lucretia's calamity; which the Poet has furniſhed with the horrid ſubjects and perſonages of *Tragic* repreſentation, *Death* and *Treaſon*—the *Conſpirator* and the *Raviſher*.

" O comfort-killing *Night*, image of Hell!
" Dim regiſter and notary of ſhame!

" *Black*

" *Black Stage* for *Tragedies* and *Murders* fell!
" Vaſt ſin-concealing chaos! nurſe of blame!
" Blind muffled bawd! dark harbour for defame!
" Grim cave of *death*, *whiſpering conſpirator*
" With *cloſe-tongu'd treaſon* and the *raviſher*."
(Page 129.)

The imagery in the paſſage of *Macbeth*, which is the ſubject of our commentary, has a wonderful coincidence with the ſentiment in the lines before us. In the former we may obſerve not only that the terms, which are probably taken from the Stage—the *Pall and Knife of Tragedy*—the *Heavens*—the *peeping thro' the blanket of the dark*—agree with the direct alluſion to the Theatre in the latter paſſage, " *Black Stage for Tragedies* and *Murders fell!*" but we find likewiſe *Thick* NIGHT *and the dunneſt ſmoke of* HELL coinciding with *comfort-killing* NIGHT, *image of* HELL.

In the two next ſtanzas the ſame ſubject is continued, and the beginning of the third, which Mr. Malone produces as parallel to the paſſage in *Macbeth*, runs thus,

" Were Tarquin night, (as he is but Night's child),
" The ſilver-ſhining queen he would diſtain;
" Her twinkling handmaids too, by him defil'd,
" Thro' *Night*'s *black* boſom ſhould not *peep* again*."

* The two following paſſages are likewiſe not unworthy of our attention;

To theſe inſtances let the reader add the following curious and deciſive paſſage from *Macbeth*, that deſcribes the horrors of the NIGHT in which Duncan was murder'd.

" *Roſſe.* Ah, good father,
" Thou ſee'ſt, the HEAVENS, as troubled with
" man's *act*,
" Threaten his bloody *Stage**."
(Act II. S. iv. p. 349.)

attention; and when combined with others, may ſerve to add weight to our hypotheſis.

" A league from Epidamnum had we ſail'd
" Before the always-wind-obeying deep
" Gave any *tragick* inſtance of our harm:
" But longer did we not retain much hope;
" For what *obſcured light* the *heavens* did grant,
" Did but convey unto our fearful minds
" A doubtful warrant of immediate death."
(*Comedy of Errors*, Act I. S. i. p. 137.)

" And now loud-howling wolves arouſe the jades
" That drag the *tragick* melancholy *night*."
(2 *Henry VI.* Act IV. S. i. p. 200.)

* Theſe are not the only inſtances in *Macbeth* of alluſions derived from the Stage.

" *Mach.* Two truths are told,
" As happy *prologues* to the ſwelling *act*
" Of the imperial theme." (Act I. S. iii. p. 285.)

" *Mach.* Life's but a walking ſhadow; a poor *player*,
" That ſtruts and frets his hour upon the *Stage*,
" And then is heard no more." (Act V. S. v. p. 428.)

" He

In theſe paſſages we find that the *obſcurity of the Heavens* and the *gloom of Night* are connected with the *Stage* and with the terms belonging to it.

It is impoſſible, ſurely, for the reader to believe that chance only could have operated in producing this union of images, which have no natural affinity or relation to each other. We certainly ſhould not expect to diſcover in a *modern* dramatic writer a combination of this ſort ſo frequently repeated, though we are well aware that in the ſubjects themſelves, abſtractedly conſidered, the ſame principle of aſſociation muſt have invariably exiſted. We are led therefore to inveſtigate by what peculiar circumſtance the ancient Theatre was diſtinguiſhed

" He dy'd
" As one that had been *ſtudied* in his death."
(Act I. S. iv. p. 288.)

Our author's profeſſion, ſays Mr. Malone, furniſhed him with this phraſe. " To be *ſtudied* in a part, or to have ſtudied it, is " yet the technical term of the Theatre." I cannot help obſerving that this term (whatever might have been the reaſon) ſeems to be particularly applied to the art of *dying*.

So in *Vittoria Corombona*.

" *Flam.* Then here's an end of me; farewel, day-light,
" And, O contemptible phyſick! that doſt take
" So long a *ſtudy*, only to preſerve
" So *ſhort a life*." (Old Plays. V. VI. p. 346.)

" *Flam.* I am i' th' way to *ſtudy a long ſilence*." (Id. p. 369.)

There is another alluſion in *Macbeth* to the Stage, which the reader will find in the ſucceeding diſcuſſion.

from the preſent, which could operate in producing a combination of ſo ſingular a nature. From our critics we are able to learn nothing on this ſubject, but that when Tragedies were acted, *one* piece of black baize was ſubſtituted for the ordinary tapeſtry at the back of the ſtage: Such Mr. Malone believes to be the only alteration, which took place on theſe occaſions; though there is certainly nothing in ſo ſimple a change by which the mind of the poet could be conducted to this train of imagery. If, however, my hypotheſis ſhould be granted, that at the acting of Tragedies the HEAVENS of the *Theatre* were hung with black, and converted into the repreſentation of *a gloomy night*, the aſſociation between the ſtage and the obſcurity of the heavens becomes highly natural and almoſt inevitable. In ſhort, we muſt certainly acknowledge, that if ſuch a circumſtance had *really* exiſted, we might have expected to find in ſome ancient dramatic writer preciſely the ſame vein of language and ſentiments which we have juſt ſeen exhibited in the preceding paſſages.

I cannot forbear adding ſome celebrated lines, which I think may receive a new light from this theatrical application of the word *heavens*. I do not determine whether our poet intends a direct alluſion to it, though I have not the ſmalleſt doubt but that he was indebted for his conception to this intermediate idea. The *Chorus* in Henry V. begins the play thus:

"O for

" O for a Muſe of fire, that would aſcend
" The *brighteſt* HEAVEN of invention."

Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that this alludes to the aſpiring "nature of fire, which by its levity, at the ſe-" paration of the chaos, took the higheſt ſeat of " all the elements;" and Dr. Warburton remarks likewiſe, that it is derived from "the notion of the "Peripatetic ſyſtem, which imagines ſeveral heavens " one above another, the laſt and higheſt of which " was one of fire." With all this, Shakſpeare was, I believe, perfectly acquainted: I am perſuaded, however, that the image of aſcending to the higheſt of theſe *ſucceeding* HEAVENS was ſuggeſted to the Poet by the little ſcene of his own performances——by that obſcure and humble HEAVEN, within which were bounded the loftieſt flights of his muſe and the *brighteſt* efforts of his *invention.*

If this opinion ſhould be already received as ſomewhat probable, without a perfect remembrance of the context, what will be the force of our conviction when we ſhall learn that the ſucceeding lines are employed in deſcribing the meanneſs of his own THEATRE, and the "flat, unraiſed ſpirit" of his DRAMATIC MUSE?

" O for a Muſe of fire, that would aſcend
" The brigheſt HEAVEN of invention!
" A kingdom for a *ſtage*, princes to *act*,
" And monarchs to behold the ſwelling ſcene!

" Then ſhould the warlike Harry, like himſelf,
" Aſſume the port of Mars; and at his heels,
" Leaſh'd in like hounds, ſhould famine, ſword, and fire,
" Crouch for employment. But pardon, gentles all,
" The *flat, unraiſed ſpirit*, that hath dar'd,
" On this unworthy *ſcaffold*, to bring forth
" So great an object: Can this *cock-pit* hold
" The vaſty fields of France? Or may we cram,
" Within this wooden O, the very caſques
" That did affright the air at Agincourt, &c.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
" Suppoſe within the girdle of theſe *walls*
" Are now confin'd two mighty monarchies."

As I am well aware that my illuſtrations of this paſſage may appear to the cautious reader as a remote, or perhaps, unfounded refinement on the more obvious and popular ſenſe of the words; I ſhall remove all his doubts on this occaſion by the following lines from *Hall's Satires*, 1597.

" One higher pitch'd, doth ſet his ſoaring thought
" On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought,
" Or ſome upreared high aſpiring ſwaine,
" As it might be, the Turkiſh Tamburlaine*,

* We know that the *Heroes*, the *Termagants*, and the *Tamburlaines* were the bluſtering heroes of our ancient Plays and Moralities; and that the bliſs which ſo *raviſhed* the ſenſes in this

Theatrical

" Then weeneth he his baſe drink drowned ſpright,
" Rapt to the three-fold LOFT of HEAVEN hight,
" When he conceives upon his fained *ſtage*.
" The ſtalking ſteps of his great perſonage:
" Graced with huff-cap termes and thund'ring threats,
" That his poor hearers hayre quite upright ſets.
" Such ſoone, as ſome brave minded hungrie youth
" Sees fitly frame to his wide ſtrained mouth,
" He vaunts his voyce upon an hyred ſtage,
" With high ſet ſteps, and princely carriage:
" There if he can with termes Italianate,
" Big-ſounding ſentences, and words of ſtate,
" Faire patch me up his pure iambic verſe,
" He raviſhes the gazing ſcaffolders."

(See Mr. Malone's account of the Engliſh Stage, 116.)

Theatrical HEAVEN conſiſted only in " big ſounding ſentences " and words of ſtate." To a mind therefore converſant with the objects of the ſtage, no aſſociation would be more obvious or natural than that of *lofty* language and a *low heaven*. Now it is remarkable that ſuch a combination of ideas actually takes place in a paſſage of Shakſpeare, which has appeared ſo extraordinary to the Commentators that the original reading has been rejected from the text. This ſingular paſſage occurs in *Love's Labour's Loſt*. (A. 1. S. 1 p. 316.)

" *King*. A letter from the magnificent Armado.
" *Bir*. How low ſoever the matter, I hope in God for *high words*.
" *Long*. A high hope for a *low* HEAVEN."

Such is the reading of the old copies: the critics, however, appear to have thought the word *heaven* too remote and too ſolemn

When we have carefully reviewed the ſeveral paſſages which are brought forward in the above diſcuſſion, we ſhall certainly be compelled to acknowledge that they are all employed either obſcurely, or directly, on the ſame objects of Theatrical repreſentation.

for ſo ludicrous an occaſion; and they have accordingly, ſince the days of Theobald, rejected it from the text. *Having* is the word now read in all the Editions of Shakſpeare; which, I truſt, will never again be inſerted. There is an alluſion likewiſe in this paſſage (as Mr. Steevens has obſerved) to the gradations of happineſs in higher or lower heavens; and this judicious critic will be gratified by obſerving that his quotation in favour of the original reading from *Old Fortunatus*, 1600,

"Oh, how my ſoul is rapt to a *third heaven*," coincides with a line in *Hall*,

"Rapt to the *three*-fold loft of *heaven* hight."

In the following paſſage the *third heaven* is applied, as in the quotation from *Hall*, to a perſon intoxicated;

"*Smug*. Mine hoſt, my bully, my precious conſul, my noble "Holofernes, I have been *drunk* in thy houſe twenty times and "ten; all's one for that: I was laſt night in the *third heaven*, my "*brain* was *poor*, it had *yeaſt in't*, but now I am a man of "action; is't not ſo, lad?" This paſſage occurs in the elegant and entertaining play of the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*. (Old Plays, 5. 285.) The bookſeller *Kirkman* attributed this play to Shakſpeare: whoever was the Author of it, the character and language of my hoſt of the Garter in the *Merry Wives of Windſor* were extremely familiar to his mind.

Can we ſuppoſe that our Poet, by this combination of *hoping in God* for *high ſounding* language, which communicates nothing but *low ideas* or a *little heaven*, has any ſecret reference to that train of thought,

The reader will have ſome cauſe to reſpect the principles of our theory, if it ſhould lead us, by a train of ſynthetical reaſoning, to diſcover a fact, which relates to our ancient Theatres, and which, as far as my information extends on the ſubject, is perfectly unknown to the antiquaries and critics of the preſent age. I had been often ſomewhat aſtoniſhed to obſerve in various paſſages, where the fancy of the Poet was manifeſtly impreſſed with the objects of the Theatre, that the *obſcurity of the* HEAVENS was not repreſented merely as an ordinary darkneſs of nature, but was combined likewiſe

thought, which appears to have poſſeſſed the preſident Monteſquieu in the following extraordinary paſſage?

"Il ſemble d'abord que les livres inſpirès ne ſont que les idées "divines rendues en langage humain: au contraire, dans notre "alcoran, on trouve ſouvent le langage de dieu, & les idées des "hommes; comme ſi, par un admirable caprice, dieu y avoit "dicté les paroles, & que l'homme eût fourni les penſées."

(Lettres Perſanes, 97. pag. 195. Ed. 4to. 1758.)

In this fertile ſentence the whole ſubject is at once propoſed, diſcuſſed, and exhauſted. Such is the privilege of philoſophy, impregnated by genius!

Let not the reader imagine that my conjecture reſpecting this latent alluſion is either remote or improbable, as our Poet often falls into trains of reflexion, which are equally unconnected with the opinions and ſpeculations of his age. — Mr. Voltaire himſelf has nothing comparable to the humorous diſcuſſion of the philoſophic gaoler in Cymbeline. (A. 5. S. 4. p. 433.)

with the gloom of *Hell*, and aſſociated with a peculiar train of ideas and imagery which had no neceſſary connection with the ſpirit and purpoſe of the narrative. In the original paſſage of Macbeth we find "the dunneſt ſmoke of HELL;" and in that from the *Rape of Lucrece*, "Comfort killing "Night, image of HELL." The whole context belonging to this latter quotation is extremely curious, and well worthy of the careful conſideration of the reader; eſpecially when it ſhall be compared with the paſſages, which I propoſe afterwards to communicate.

"O comfort-killing *Night*, image of HELL!
"Dim regiſter and notary of ſhame!
"*Black Stage for Tragedies* and murders fell!
"Vaſt ſin-concealing chaos! nurſe of blame!
"Blind muffled bawd! dark harbour for defame!
"*Grim cave of death!* whiſpering conſpirator,
"With cloſe-tongu'd treaſon and the raviſher.

"*O hateful, vaporous, and foggy night,*
"Since thou art guilty of my cureleſs crime,
"*Muſter thy miſts to meet the eaſtern light,*
"Make war againſt proportion'd courſe of time!
"Or if thou wilt permit the Sun to climb
"His wonted height, yet ere he go to bed,
"Knit poiſonous clouds about his golden head."

"*With rotten damps raviſh the morning air,*
"*Let their exhal'd unwholeſome breaths make ſick*

"*The*

" *The life of purity, the ſupreme fair,*
" Ere he arrive his weary noon tide prick;
" And let thy *miſty vapours* march ſo thick,
" That in their *ſmoky ranks his ſmother'd light*
" May ſet at noon and make perpetual *night.*

" Were Tarquin *night,* (as he is but *Night's child,*)
" The ſilver ſhining queen he would diſtain;
" Her *twinkling handmaids,* too, by him defil'd,
" *Thro' Night's black boſom ſhould not peep again:*
" So ſhould I have copartners in my pain;
" And fellowſhip in woe doth woe aſſuage,
" As palmers chat make ſhort their pilgrimage.
" . . . . . .
" O NIGHT, thou *furnace of foul reeking ſmoke,*
" Let not the jealous day behold that face,
" Which underneath thy black all-hiding cloak
" Immodeſtly lies martyr'd with diſgrace!
" Keep ſtill poſſeſſion of thy gloomy place,
" That all the faults, which in thy reign are made,
" May likewiſe be *ſepulcher'd* in thy ſhade!"
(Rape of Lucrece, pag. 129, 130, 1, 2.)

" *Roſſe.* Ah good father,
" Thou ſeeſt the *heavens* as troubled with man's *act,*
" Threaten his *bloody* STAGE: by the clock, 'tis day,
" And yet dark *night ſtrangles* the travelling *lamp;*
" Is it Night's predominance, or the Day's ſhame,
" That darkneſs does the *face* of earth *intomb*
" When *living Light* ſhould *kiſs* it."
(*Macbeth,* A. 2. S. 4. p. 349.)

The

The reader will not fail to obſerve that the quotation from the *Rape of Lucrece* contains a peculiarity of ſentiment and language, which may be traced to a wonderful degree of reſemblance in the latter paſſage produced from Macbeth. They not only commence with a ſimilarity already pointed out, with a *darkneſs* which is aſſociated with the horrors of the *ſtage*, but we may obſerve likewiſe, that in the former of theſe quotations, the morning air is *raviſh'd* by the damps of darkneſs—that "the *life* of purity" exiſting in the eſſence *of light*—the ſupreme *beauty* of nature ſickens at the unwholeſome *breath*, and is *ſmother'd* by the baleful exhalations of the *night*. In the latter paſſage the lamp of day is *ſtrangled* by the night, and the *face* of nature is buried in darkneſs *, "when *living light* ſhould *kiſs* it." Let us not fail likewiſe to obſerve that in both paſſages darkneſs is the *ſepulcher* and the *tomb* of nature.

* The following paſſages have a very ſtriking ſimilarity to the ideas which are here exhibited:

"Thou glorious eye of heaven, be ever blind,
"Maſk thy bright *face* in clouds eternally;
"*Dark vapours* and *thick miſts* thy *front embrace*,
"And never ſhine to look on my diſgrace."
(The *Four 'Prentices*, Old Plays 6. page 517.)

"But rather let the brightſome heavens be dim,
"And *Nature's beauty cheak* with *ſtifling* clouds."
(The *Jew of Malta*. Old Plays 8. page 343.)

Though

Though I am unable to diſcover from what ſource a portion of the preceding imagery is derived, yet nothing can be more manifeſt than that the ſame aſſociation exerted in both caſes its direct or latent influence on the fancy of the Poet. The next paſſage which I ſhall produce has already in part been preſented to the reader, and the inference which is to be drawn from it, on either occaſion, only gains our conviction by comparing it with other paſſages, in which ſimilar trains of thought apparently exiſt.

"And now loud-howling wolves arouſe the jades
"That drag the *tragick* melancholy *night*,
"Who with their drowſy, ſlow, and flagging wings
"Clip dead men's graves, and from their *miſty jaws*
"*Breath foul contagious darkneſs in the air.*"
Second Part of Henry VI.
(Act. 4. S. 1. p. 200.)

To the line in the original paſſage from Macbeth,

"Nor heaven peep thro' the *blanket* of the dark."

Mr. Steevens produces, as a parallel ſentiment, the following verſe from Drayton's *Polyolbion*,

"Thick vapours, that like *rugs* ſtill hang the troubled air."

Now if my hypotheſis ſhould be true, that the above quotations are either directly or obſcurely employed

ed about the ſame objects, and if the line from the *Polyolbion* be indeed a parallel paſſage to that of Macbeth, it will follow, that the mind of Drayton was likewiſe occupied by a ſimilar train of ideas, which I have imagined to exiſt in *all* the preceding examples. Before I had conſulted the context belonging to the line from Drayton, I had convinced myſelf that a ſimilarity of this ſort, either in language or ſentiment, would be found to exiſt; yet I cannot but own that my expectations of ſuch a coincidence were exceeded by the fact, when I diſcovered that the Peake of Derbyſhire was the ſubject of Drayton's narrative, in which was the dark *cave*—"the image of *Hell*," with all the *fogs*, the *miſts*, and the *damps*, which we have juſt ſeen ſo fully diſplayed in the preceding paſſages, and which are there connected with the ſubject of *theatrical* exhibition.

" Ye dark and hollow *caves*, the portraiture of HELL,
" Where *fogs and miſty damps* continually do dwell;
" O ye, my lovely joys, my darlings, in whoſe eyes
" Horror aſſumes her ſeat, from whoſe abiding flies
" *Thick vapours, that like rugs ſtill hang the troubled air*;
" Ye of your mother Peake the only hope and care."

(Polyolbion, Song 26.)

In the two ſucceeding quotations *Hell* and *Night* are again united.

" Never ſees horrid *night*, the child of *Hell*."

(Henry V. A. 4. S. 1. p. 548.)

" The

" The Sea, with ſuch a ſtorm as his bare head
" In *hell*-black *night* endur'd, would have buoy'd up,
" And quench'd the ſtelled fires."
(*Lear*, A. 3. S. 7. p. 612.)

Let the reader remark, that Mr. Steevens has quoted the line from Henry V. as a parallel paſſage to that in the *Rape of Lucrece*, "Were Tarquin night, as he is but *Night's child*;" and let me add that I have often been indebted to the ſagacity of our Commentators in the diſcovery of ſimilar paſſages; though they have not been aware of the nature or extent of the ſimilarity. This circumſtance will certainly afford additional conviction for the truth of any deduction which I may form by a compariſon of theſe paſſages with each other; as it will ſhew that they were not all cautiouſly ſelected by myſelf to ſupport the refinements of a favourite hypotheſis, but that they really contain within themſelves the moſt unqueſtionable characteriſtics of a common origin, ſince they preſent even to the haſty glance of the general commentator ſuch diſtinct and ſtriking features of reſemblance.

" My pureſt thoughts work in a pitchy vale,
" Which are as different as heaven and HELL;
" One peers for day, the other gapes for NIGHT.
" That *yawning beldam with her jetty ſkin*,
" 'Tis ſhe I hug as mine effeminate bride,
" For ſuch complexions beſt appeaſe my pride."
(Firſt Part of Jeronimo. Old Plays. 3. p. 67.)

" *Cre.*

" * *Cre. Night* hath been too brief.
" *Pand.* Beſhrew the witch! with venemous wights ſhe ſtays,
" As tediouſly as HELL; but flies the graſps of love,
" With wings more momentary-ſwift than thought!"
(Troilus and Creſſida, A. 4. S. 2. p. 243,4.)

" Light the fair grand-child to the glorious ſun,
" Opening the caſements of the roſy morn,
" Makes the abaſhed heavens ſoon to ſhun
" The ugly darkneſs it embrac'd before;
" And, at his firſt appearance puts to flight
" The utmoſt relics of the *hell*-born *night*."
(Lingua 1607. Old Plays, 5. p. 179.)

* This paſſage is curious, as *Hell* and *Night* are united without any reference to the intermediate idea of *horror* and *darkneſs*, by which alone they would be naturally combined in the imagery of a modern Poet. I muſt obſerve, however, that for *tediouſly* as *Hell*, the folio reads "*hideouſly* as Hell," which brings it nearer to the general idea: the word which Shakſpeare gave, I believe to be *tediouſly*. The following paſſage is completely parallel to thoſe above, though their ſimilarity was not produced by imitation, nor is it to be referred to that accidental coincidence which ariſes from the abſtracted contemplation of the mind occupied on the ſame ſubject: it is to be attributed only to the operation of the ſenſes, to the impreſſion of a ſcene which had paſſed before the eyes of the Poet, not of that which had been created by his fancy.

" The confident and over-luſty French
" Do the low-rated Engliſh play at dice;
" And chide the *cripple tardy-gaited night*,
" *Which like a foul and ugly witch, doth limp*
" *So tediouſly away.*"
(Henry V. Act. 4. Chorus, page 537.)

I'll

" He told me that his horrid *Tragedy*
" Was *acted* over every *night* in *Hell.*
* * * * *
" I'll trace th' *infernal Theatre* and view
" Thoſe ſqualid actors, and the *tragic* pomp
" Of HELL and NIGHT."
(The *Antiquary.* Old Plays, 10. p. 102.)

I have not the ſmalleſt doubt but that *Night* was ſometimes perſonified and repreſented on the Stage; ſuch as ſhe is here and above deſcribed—a *foul witch* and a *beldam with a jetty ſkin.* I am perſuaded likewiſe that there was ſometimes annexed to her character a ſort of dramatic repreſentation, in which ſhe was introduced as embracing the wretched, but ſhunning the courtſhip of the happy. "'Tis ſhe I *hug* as mine effeminate bride."

" With *venemous Wights* ſhe ſtays,
" But *flies the graſp of love.*"

Obſerve likewiſe that this *beldam* is the "blind muffled bawd" with a "black all hiding cloak," in the quotation from the *Rape of Lucrece:* and in *Romeo and Juliet* we have two paſſages which are to be referred to the ſame ſource.

" *Muffle* me, *Night*, a while."
(Act V. S. 2. p. 162.)

" Come, civil *Night*,
" Thou ſober *ſuited matron*, all in *black*,
\- - - - - - -
\- - - - - - -
" Hood my unmann'd blood bating in my cheeks,
" With thy *black mantle.*" (Act I. S. 2. p. 100.)

This is imitated by Milton, as our Commentators have remarked. They have not obſerved, what is extremely curious, that he has borrowed two other paſſages from the ſame ſpeech, without being ſenſible of its true meaning.

In

The reader, when he has attentively conſidered the preceding paſſages, will not, I truſt, heſitate to pronounce that they all receive their peculiar colouring from the ſame train of ideas, and ought all to be referred to one common origin, though perhaps they are *related* to each other in various degrees of *reſemblance* and *affinity*. This metaphor may ſerve ſtill farther to illuſtrate our meaning; for as among different perſons of the ſame family, a reſemblance (which perhaps might on the firſt view appear but faint and imperfect, or might even have altogether eſcaped our notice) often ſtrikes us with peculiar force, when it is compared with the original features of the common parent; ſo the reſemblance, and thereby the affinity, of ſentiments will be ſeen and aſcertained by a compariſon with ſome common ſtandard where thoſe different traits of thought and language are united by which the character and complexion of each are individually diſtinguiſhed. Thus the ſimilarity which appears between the ſentiments of Shakſpeare and Drayton in the BLANKET *of the dark* and the RUGS *of the troubled air*, will acquire the evidence of affinity or of a *common origin*, when they are contraſted with

In the *Goblins* of Sir John Suckling, we have a ſimilar image.

"'Sfoot yonder's the *Night* too
"Stealing away with her *black cloak* about her."
(Old Plays, x. p. 159.)

The ſenſe of *muffled* may be gathered from a ſtage direction in the ſame play.

"Enter ſoldiers *muffled* up in their *cloaks*." (P. 168.)

the

the paſſage in the *Rape of Lucrece*, which not only contains the reſemblance common to both, but poſſeſſes likewiſe other features which are peculiar to each. On the whole, we may remind the reader of a maxim which will direct him in diſcovering the examples of this aſſociating principle, that things which are related to the ſame, are related to each other: So we may obſerve likewiſe, that different paſſages which are found ſeparately to bear an affinity to the ſame, muſt be conceived as ultimately derived from ſome common train of ideas, though, perhaps, in the compariſon with each other, they will not always afford the moſt ſtriking marks of reſemblance; as they may preſent us with different objects of which that train is compoſed. With reſpect to the quotations, which I have above produced, their affinity with each other is of ſuch a nature, that by connecting as it were link by link the correſponding paſſages, they will at laſt appear to form one compleat chain and continued ſeries of ideas.

We have in ſome of theſe paſſages a *tomb*, a *cave*, a *furnace* reeking with ſmoke, and the vapours, aſcending either from the jaws of a cavern or of a monſter, ſmothering the light of Heaven. We have moreover, that, which led me to the following diſcovery, a *night*, ſometimes aſſociated with *Hell* *, and

* Let the reader obſerve, that it is not the ſimple aſſociation between *Hell* and *Night* which excites my ſurpriſe, as this might naturally ariſe from the notion of *darkneſs*, and the propenſity in

ſometimes with the objects of the *Theatre*. The fact then which the application of my theory has enabled me to diſcover reſpecting our ancient Theatres, is, that as a part of the roof was denominated the *Heavens*, ſo a portion likewiſe of the lower part of the ſtage was diſtinguiſhed by the name of HELL. Of this fact I am perfectly perſuaded; though I cannot expect my reader to be ſo convinced of the truth and extent of my preſent theory, as to admit at once a deduction, which is derived from ſuch obſcure and

Poets to advance their imagery to the higheſt point of which the idea is capable; but the extraordinary part is, that *Hell* and *Night* are united with the concerns of the *Theatre*. I have produced three quotations; the original paſſage from Macbeth—one from the *Rape of Lucrece*, and another from *Drayton*, in which we may be ſaid to have the concurrence of our Commentators with reſpect to this union of *Hell* and the *Stage*. For thus ſtands the queſtion. Mr. Malone thinks, that the paſſage of Macbeth refers to the Stage, and he has directed us to the quotation from the *Rape of Lucrece* as containing a parallel ſentiment. Mr. *Steevens* refers us to the paſſage of Drayton as containing a *ſimilar* alluſion, though he does not explain to what that alluſion is pointed. The images in the two quotations from *Troilus* and *Creſſida*, and *Jeronimo*, (in which the term *Hell* again occurs) are certainly derived from ſcenical repreſentations. In the paſſage from the *Antiquary*, they are all moſt pointedly united—*Tragedy*, *Night*, and *Hell*. I will not inſiſt on the other paſſages (though they each of them wonderfully co-operate to the ſame point) but I will demand only that *ſix* ſuch examples ſhall be produced from any ancient claſſical author or modern Engliſh one; in which *Tartarus*, or *Hell*, and the *Theatre*, are thus united. When this ſhall be done, I will then own that ſuch a combination might be the effect of unmeaning accident and not the ſuggeſtion of an aſſociating principle.

ſubtle

ſubtle operations of the mind, and which muſt finally depend for its confirmation on the teſtimony of hiſtorical authority.

I ſhould not therefore have ventured to incur the charge of hypothetical refinement by diſcloſing my own conviction of ſuch a fact, had I not been able to produce *one* example in which there is a *direct* alluſion to this remarkable circumſtance of the *name*, and other paſſages, to prove likewiſe that imitations of *Hell-mouth* were frequently attempted on the Stage, by the rude contrivance and licentious fancy of our anceſtors. I ſhall produce my paſſages (as they occur) reſpecting the ſimple mechaniſm of our ancient Theatres; and ſhall afterwards direct the attention of the reader to the peculiar purpoſe for which they were intended.

"You ſhall then have three ladies walk to gather "flowers, and then we muſt beleeve the Stage to "be a garden. By and by we heare news of ſhip-"wrack in the ſame place; and then we are to "blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the "back of that comes *out a hidious monſter with fire* "*and ſmoke*; and then the miſerable beholders are "bound to take it for a *cave*; while in the mean "time two armies fly in, repreſented with four "ſwords and bucklers, and then what hard hart "will not receive it for a pitched field."

Sir Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poeſie.*

See Mr. Malone's Hiſt. of Stage, p. 66-7.

"The mechaniſm of our ancient Theatres ſeldom "went beyond a *tomb*, a painted chair, a *ſinking* "*caldron* or a trap door."

(Mr. Malone in his Hiſt. of the Stage, p. 72.)

"Undoubtedly our Poet's company were fur- "niſhed with ſome wooden fabrick ſufficiently re- "ſembling a *tomb*, for which they muſt have had "occaſion in ſeveral Plays." (Id. 74.) Mr. Malone doubts whether the *tomb* in Romeo and Juliet was any thing but the ordinary trap-door of the Stage, by which Romeo deſcended to a vault beneath it. "Why I deſcend into this *bed of death*."

"The little children were never ſo afrayd of "*Hell mouth* in the old Plaies * painted with great

* Our Commentators are not aware that the following paſſage of Macbeth is to be referred to this ſcenical exhibition.

"'Tis the eye of *childhood*
"That fears a *painted devil*." (A. 2. S. 2. p. 326.)

Mr. Steevens has produced a line from *Vittoria Corombona* 1612, as parallel to this.

"*Terrify babes*, my lord, with *painted devils*."

To which add the following from *Fuimus Troes*.

"Then let War ope his jaws as wide as *Hell*,
"To *fright young babes*." (Old Plays, vol. 7. p. 447.)

If we are diſguſted with theſe abſurd repreſentations which terrified children in our ancient Theatres, how ſhall we be ſhocked at thoſe groſs *exhibitions* which were deviſed to excite their merriment in the Comedies at Athens. *Ariſtophanes* thus congratulates

" gang teeth, ſtaring eyes, and a * foule bottle " noſe; as the poore devils are ſkared with the " hel-mouth of a Prieſt."

(*Declaration of Popiſh Impoſtures*, 1603.

See Capell's School, pag. 2.)

" Firſt *Hell-mouth* with a nether chap.
" A *tomb* with a covering.

(Hiſt. of the Properties in a Myſtery, 1563.

See Mr. Malone on the Stage, p. 19.)

" Item, j rocke, j cage, j *tombe*, j *Hell-mought*.
" Item, j *tome* of Guido, j *tome* of Dido."

(Inventory of Properties for my Lord Admiral's Men, 1598. See Malone on the Stage, p. 302.)

lates himſelf on the ſuperior modeſty of his Comic muſe,

Ὡς δὲ σώφρων ἐς φύσιν σκέψασθ'. ἥτις πρῶτα μὲν
Οὐδὲν ἦλθε ξαψαμένη ΣΚΥΤΙΝΟΝ, ΚΑΘΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ,
ΕΡΥΘΡΟΝ ΕΞ ΑΚΡΟΥ, ΠΑΧΥ. τοῖς ΠΑΙΔΙΟΙΣ, ὥ'ϛ ΓΕΛΩΣ.

Quam modeſta autem ſit natura videte: quæ primo ſane venit, nihil conſutum habens *coriaceum*, *demiſſum a ſummo rubrum*, *craſſum*; *pueris* quo *riſus* fiat. (Nub. 537, 8, 9.) Διαζωσμένοι γὰρ (ſays the Scholiaſt) διρμάτιον ΑΙΔΟΙΑ οἱ κωμικοὶ ἐσήσαν τὸ γέλωτος χάριν.

* It will not be neceſſary, I think, to enforce my opinion by a commentary; when I inform the reader that the *foul-bottle noſe* belonging to this *hell*-mouth, ſuggeſted to the Poet that laſt *wild* flaſh of merriment which he has attributed to the " unimitated and " inimitable Falſtaff!"

" *Boy.* Do you not remember, 'a ſaw 'a flea ſtick upon Bardolph's " NOSE; and 'a ſaid it was a black ſoul burning in HELL-fire."

(Henry V. A. 1. S. 3. 492.)

Here then we diſcover the origin of that imagery, which on the firſt view appeared of ſo remote and ſingular a nature. We now ſee that the ordinary *properties*, or the little mechanical appendages of our ancient Stage were a *Tomb*, a *Caldron*, a *Cavern*, and the *Mouth* of *Hell*. We no longer, therefore, are to wonder that the *Night*, which is the "Image of *Hell*," ſhould be combined with the "black *Stage* for *Tragedies* and murders fell;" that the ſame *Night* ſhould be the "grim *cave* of death," "the *furnace* of foul reeking ſmoke;" and that the crimes, of which it is conſcious, ſhould be "*ſepul-*"*cher'd* in its ſhade."* If we ſhall moreover ſup-"poſe (what indeed we can ſcarcely imagine not to have taken place) that the mechaniſm extended to ſupplying the *mouth of Hell* with a repreſentation of *ſmoke* and *vapours* iſſuing from its *jaws*, the coincidence will be compleat. We ſhall then have all the *miſts*, *ſmoke*, and contagious exhalations, which we have juſt ſeen ſo pointedly exhibited in the preceding paſſages. That a contrivance of this ſort ſometimes took place, we find from the "hidious "monſter with *fire* and *ſmoke*," deſcribed by Sir Philip Sidney. On the whole, if we had concluded *a priori*, that ſuch Theatrical apparatus would operate on the mind of the Poet, and produce in certain

* Let it likewiſe be obſerved, that the grim *cave of death*, coincides with the *bed of death* into which Romeo deſcends, when he viſits the *tomb* of Juliet.

ſubjects

ſubjects a vein of imagery impregnated with ſcenical materials, we ſurely never could have expected to find a ſingle paſſage ſo compleatly abounding with ſuch imagery as we have really ſeen exiſting in that ſingular example, which the *Rape of Lucrece* has afforded us: We muſt acknowledge likewiſe that the other quotations concur to the ſame purpoſe, and might be conſidered as the moſt fortunate inſtances to illuſtrate ſuch an hypotheſis. It remains for me now to produce the very paſſage, in which there is as direct an alluſion to the HELL of the lower part of the Stage, as there is to the *Heavens* belonging to the Roof.

"The fortune of a *Stage* (like fortune's ſelf)
"Amazeth greateſt judgments: and none knows
"The hidden cauſes of thoſe ſtrange effects,
"That riſe from this HELL, or fall from this *Heaven.*"
(Prologue to *All Fools*, by Chapman 1605.
Old Plays, 4. 116.)

I ſhall not detain the reader by any unneceſſary comment on this very curious paſſage, as I conſider it abſolutely deciſive in determining the queſtion. With reſpect to the whole combination of imagery, which I have unfolded in the above diſcuſſion, we ſhall receive additional conviction of its exiſtence and effect, when we obſerve the powerful impreſſions which concurred to produce it. Let us conſider the ſtriking change of the Theatre into *black*; the extraordinary terms of *Heaven* and *Hell*

belonging to the Stage; the *obſcuring* of theſe *Theatrical Heavens*, or the repreſentation of a gloomy *Night*, in order to bring forward the perſonages and the crimes of *Tragic exhibition*; and finally, the general connexion exiſting in an age of ſuperſtition between the crimes of *Tragedy* and the puniſhments of *Hell*, added to the artificial union ariſing not only from the *name* but from the actual *imitation* of *Hell*; which we may obſerve, could never be introduced as an object of terror, unleſs when *Tragic* crimes were the ſubject of the performance. Let us conſider, I ſay, all theſe circumſtances, and we ſhall ceaſe to wonder that in the mind of Shakſpeare, ever occupied, as it certainly muſt be, with the affairs of the Theatre, ſo intimate an union ſhould be formed between HELL and NIGHT; the DARKENED HEAVENS and the STAGE of TRAGEDY.

THE TRAGIC POMP OF HELL AND NIGHT.

After we have advanced thus far, we ſhall readily admit the *Tomb*, the *Cavern*, and the *Furnace*, as the natural attendants on this train of imagery. For let it ever be remembered, that when the powers of the fancy are once bound by the magic of an aſſociation, the mind ſtill hovers about the ſcene where the charm is depoſited†.

† I muſt beſeech the reader not to be contented with a ſuperficial reading of the paſſages on which I have founded the above diſcuſſion. On a careful review of theſe quotations, and of the Note on the paſſage from *Troilus* and *Creſſida*, he will perceive that the vein of ſentiment and language, which pervades them all, is derived

" My gentle Puck, come hither: Thou remember'ſt
" Since once I ſat upon a promontory,
" And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
" Uttering ſuch dulcet and harmonious breath,
" That the rude ſea grew civil at her ſong;
" And certain ſtars ſhot madly from their ſpheres,
" To hear the ſea-maid's muſick."

(*Midſummer Night's Dream*, Act 2. S. 1. p. 468.)

rived from the objects of the Theatre; partly from the *mechanical appendages*, and partly from the *allegorical perſonages* of ſcenical exhibition. On the whole, we may obſerve, that the repreſentation of *night* by the darkening of the Stage, with the circumſtances generally annexed to it, and the introduction of *Night* as a perſonified character, with the neceſſary peculiarities of her dreſs and figure, have cauſed all that variety, or ſometimes that confuſion of imagery which we have ſeen abounding in the above quotations.

I cannot diſmiſs this remark without pointing out, under one view, that peculiarity of metaphor which exiſts in ſo many paſſages: I mean, that *light*, and its oppoſite, *darkneſs* or *night*, are connected with terms which belong to the language of *love*, and the qualities of the perſon. 1ſt, The damps of the night *raviſh* the morning air; and the ſupreme *beauty* of light ſickens at their *breath* 2nd, Night is repreſented with a black *boſom*; and though the imagery is extremely confuſed; we find Tarquin aſſociated with Night, that his character as a *raviſher* may be more fully diſplayed. 3dly, The *jealous* day is called upon not to behold that *face*, which *immodeſty* lies martyred under the cloak of night. 4thly, Living light ſhould *kiſs* the *face*, which is covered by darkneſs. 5thly, The *face* of the Sun is to be *maſked* in clouds, and dark vapours are to *embrace* his *front*. 6thly, Nature's *beauty*, the light of heaven, is choaked by ſtifling clouds. 7thly, The dark dwellings of fogs and miſty damps are addreſſed as *lovely joys* and *darlings*.

8thly,

When I have conſidered the ſingular imagery in this celebrated paſſage, and the abrupt mode, in which it is apparently introduced, I was ever accuſtomed to regard it as one of thoſe wild excurſions of the fancy, which ſeem totally independent of any kindred notions to ſupply or ſuggeſt the materials for its exiſtence. I have ſince, however, diſcovered that all this is very naturally derived from the *Maſque* and the *Pageant*, which abounded in the age of Shakſpeare; and which (as I have before obſerved) would often quicken and enrich the fancy of the Poet with wild and original combinations. The frolic beings, which were now exerciſing the invention of our bard—theſe creatures of a diſtemper'd *Dream* in a *Midſummer Night*; and the prepoſterous devices in the *Interlude of*

8thly, Night is *hugged* as a *bride*. 9thly, She is a *foul* and *ugly* witch. 10thly, She flies the *graſps of love*. 11thly, Light is the *fair* grand-child of the Sun, and ſhuns the *ugly* darkneſs which it *embraced* before.——Theſe expreſſions are all certainly derived from ſcenical perſonifications.

I ſhall conclude the preſent inveſtigation by obſerving, that the circumſtance which I have been deſirous to eſtabliſh, has but recently impreſſed itſelf on my mind, and that my conviction of its truth was formed by the conſideration only of three or four paſſages. Since, therefore, the examples relative to this point, which might occur in the courſe of my reading *previous* to this impreſſion, could avail me nothing; the reader muſt not wonder that I have paſſed by a cloud of witneſſes which I am perſuaded are every where to be found for the confirmation of my hypotheſis. Some of the paſſages, which I have now adduced, preſented themſelves by accident, even while I was employed in writing the diſcuſſion which they are intended to illuſtrate.

Pyramus

Pyramus (where the abſurdities of ſcenic artifice are burleſqued) would naturally impreſs upon his mind the various and extraordinary objects of the maſque or the pageant. The following narrative will convince us that a repreſentation of the *dolphin bearing a ſinger on his back* was not uncommon in theſe ſpectacles; and it adds ſtrength to my hypotheſis, that the quotation has been produced by our Commentators on another occaſion in this very play, though they have not been aware of its application to the inſtance before us.

"There was a ſpectacle preſented to Queen "Elizabeth upon the water, and among others "*Harry Goldingham* was to repreſent *Arion* upon the "*DOLPHIN's BACKE*; but finding his voice to be "very hoarſe and unpleaſant, when he came to per-"form it, he tears off his diſguiſe and *ſwears he was* "*none of Arion, not he, but even honeſt Harry Goldingham*; "which blunt diſcoverie pleaſed the queen better "than if it had gone through in the right way: "yet he could order his voice to an inſtrument ex-"ceeding well*".

(*Merry Paſſages and Jeaſts*, MS. *Harl.* 6395.)

Mr. Warton has referred to this incident.

H. of E. P. 3. p. 414.

In the preſent example we may perhaps be in-

* Mr. Malone imagines that Shakſpeare alludes to this incident, when he makes Bottom adviſe the actor of the lion to inform the ladies that he "is a man as other men are—to name his "name, and tell them plainly, he is Snug the joiner." (P. 481.)

clined

clined to ſuſpect that Shakſpeare in this whole deſcription of the mermaid, the dolphin, the veſtal and Cupid, directly alludes to ſome actual exhibition, which contained all theſe particulars and which had been purpoſely contrived and preſented before Elizabeth to compliment that princeſs at the expence of her unfortunate rival. So favourite a repreſentation does the *riding on a dolphin* appear to have been in the time of our Poet, that it was ſometimes introduced among the quaint devices in the art of cookery. In Jonſon's Maſque of *Neptune's Triumph*, the *Cook* ſays,

" I conceive you.
" I would have had your iſle brought floting in now
" In a brave broth, and of a ſprightly green,
" Juſt to the colour of the ſea; and then
" Some twenty ſyrens, ſinging in the kettel,
" With an Arion *mounted on the back*
" Of a grown conger, but in ſuch a poſture,
" As all the world ſhould take him for a *dolphin* *."
(Page 638. Ed. 1692.)

* It is well known that the culinary and confectionary arts were employed on devices ſimilar to thoſe, which compoſed the Pageant. Mr. Steevens has rightly referred a paſſage in the *Merry Wives of Windſor* to this ſource.

" *Fal.* Let the ſky rain potatoes; let it thunder to the tune " of *Green-ſleeves*; HAIL KISSING-COMFITS and ſnow eringoes: let there come a tempeſt of provocation, I will ſhelter " here." (A. 5. S. 5. p. 297.) On which Mr. Steevens obſerves, ' Holinſhed informs us that in the year 1583, for the entertain-' ment of prince Alaſco was performed a ' " verie ſtatelie tragedie

' " named

The ſame idea occurs nearly in the ſame words in the *Staple of News* 445.)

As a further illuſtration that the *ſea-maid's muſick* is to be referred to the ſource, which I have ſuggeſted, we find in another *Maſque* of Jonſon preſented before the court on *Twelfth Night* 1605, "*One of the Tritons with the two* SEA-MAIDS *began to* "SING." (Page 324.) The *back of the dolphin* is deeply aſſociated in the mind of Shakſpeare with the ſplendid ſcenery of the pageant or the proceſſion. Would the reader believe that the following idea in *Anthony and Cleopatra* is to be referred to this ſource?

"His delights
"Were DOLPHIN like; they ſhew'd his BACK above
"The element they liv'd in."

There is nothing, however, more certain and indubitable. The whole paſſage, with which theſe lines are connected is extremely curious; and the clue, which we have afforded to the reader, will enable him to underſtand that accumulation of extraordinary imagery, which muſt otherwiſe appear remote, tumid and unintelligible.

' " named *Dido*, wherein the queen's banket (with Æneas' narra-
' " tion of the deſtruction of Troie) was livelie deſcribed in a
' " March-paine patterne,—*the tempeſt wherein it hailed ſmall con-*
' " *fects, rained roſe-water, and ſnew an artificial kind of ſnow*, all
' " ſtrange, marvellous and abundant." ' On this very circumſtance probably Shakſpeare was thinking, when he put the words quoted above in the mouth of Falſtaff! I have not the leaſt doubt but that Shakſpeare drew his imagery from a device of this ſort, employ'd on the very ſtory of Dido and Æneas.

Let

Let it be remembered that an imitation of the *ſphere* * of the Heavens with the attributes and orna-

* In Jonſon's *Maſque* at Court 1608, on the lord viſcount Haddington's marriage, we have the following deſcription. "At "which, with a loud and full muſick, the cliff parted in the midſt, "and diſcovered an illuſtrious *concave*; filled with an ample and "glittering light, in which an artificial SPHERE was made of "ſilver, eighteen foot in diameter, that turned perpetually: the "*coluri* were heightened with gold, ſo were the *Arctick* and *An-* "*tarctick* circles, the *tropics*, &c." (p. 342) At a triumphant proceſſion of James I. among other devices "the GLOBE of the Earth "was ſeen to move;" and in another place there was "an inven-"tion of a rainbow, the MOON, SUN, and ſtars." (See Mr. Malone, Vol. 1. p. 80.) In a Maſque at court, by Jonſon, on the Twelfth-Night 1605, we find the following device. "At this "the MOON was diſcovered in the upper part of the houſe. The "HEAVEN about her was vaulted with blue ſilk, and ſet with "ſtars of ſilver, which had in them their ſeveral lights burning." (p. 325.) In the ſolemnities of *Maſque* and Barriers at a marriage, the ſcenery is thus deſcribed. "No leſs to be admired, for the "grace and greatneſs, was the whole *Machine* of the *Spectacle*, from "whence they came: the firſt part of which was a ΜΙΚΡΟΚΟΣΜΟΣ, "or GLOBE, fill'd with *countries*, and thoſe gilded; where the *ſea* "was expreſt, heighten'd with ſilver waves. This ſtood, or rather "hung (for no axel was ſeen to ſupport it) and turning ſoftly diſ-"cover'd the firſt *Maſque* (as we have before but too runningly "declared) which was of the *men*, ſitting in fair *compoſition*, within "a *mine* of ſeveral metals: To which the lights were ſo "placed, as no one was ſeen; but ſeemed as if only *Reaſon*, with "the ſplendor of her CROWN, illumin'd the whole grot. On the "ſides of this, (which began the other part) were placed two "*great* STATUES, feigned of gold, one of ATLAS, the other of "HERCULES, in varied poſtures, bearing up the clouds, which "were of *relieve*, emboſſed, and tranſlucent, as naturals. To theſe a "cortine of painted clouds joined, which reached to the utmoſt "roof

ments belonging to it, the ſweetneſs of its muſic and the noiſe of its thunder, the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth, coloſſal figures—‡armorial bearings—† a magnificent proceſſion of monarchs and their

"roof of the hall; and ſuddenly opening, reveal'd the three *re-*
"*gions of air*. In the higheſt of which ſat *Juno*, in a glorious
"throne of gold, circled with *comets* and fiery *meteors*, engendred
"in that hot and dry *region*; her feet reaching to the loweſt:
"where was made a *Rainbow*, and within it *MUSICIANS* ſeated,
"figuring AIRY SPIRITS, their habits various, and reſembling
"the ſeveral colours cauſed in that part of the air by reflexion.
"But that, which (as above in place, ſo in the beauty) was moſt
"taking in the *ſpectacle*, was the *ſphere of fire*, in the top of all,
"encompaſſing the *Air*, and imitated with ſuch art and induſtry,
"as the ſpectators might diſcern the motion (all the time the
"*ſhews* laſted) without any mover; and that ſo ſwift, as no
"eye could diſtinguiſh any colour of the light, but might form to
"itſelf five hundred ſeveral hews, out of the tranſlucent body of
"the *Air*, objected betwixt it and them. And this was crowned
"with a ſtatue of Jupiter, the THUNDERER." (p. 337.) I cannot forbear obſerving in this place that the *mine* in the preceding quotation confirms my conjecture in page 97. (n.)

‡ It would be endleſs to deſcribe the heraldic devices, which occur almoſt in every exhibition, in which dignity is diſplayed. Heralds, as it is well known, had often the charge of arranging public ceremonies and proceſſions. *Creſted* in the ſucceeding paſſage alludes (ſays Dr. Percy) "to ſome of the old CRESTS in *he-*
"*raldry*, where a RAISED ARM on a wreath, was mounted on the
"helmet."

† I muſt tranſcribe the account of almoſt every Pageant, were I to illuſtrate by quotations the ſplendor of dreſs and the profuſion of riches—*crowns* and *coronets*, &c. which were diſplayed in theſe Spectacles. I am tempted, however, to produce one example, as the ſame terms exiſt in it which are found in the paſſage from Antony

attendants—§ floating iſlands—and † a prodigal diſtribution of wealth and honors, are the known and

Antony and Cleopatra. Richard the Second, with his wife Queen Anne, is met by the "principall Citizens all in one *livery* to the "number of 400 horſmen. And as they paſſed the citie the "ſtreets were hanged with cloth of golde, ſilver, and ſilke." The gifts diſtributed on this occaſion were two very coſtly CROWNS of gold—"a table of the trinitie in golde, worth eight "hundred pounds, with divers other gifts, as horſes, trap-"pers, PLATE of gold and ſilver, clothes of gold, ſilke, velvets, "baſons and ewers of gold, alſo gold in coyne, precious ſtones "and jewels, ſo rich, excellent, and beautifull that the value and "price might not well be eſteemed." On this occaſion the King beſtowed on the citizens "their ancient cuſtomes and liberties." (Stowe's Annals, by Howes, p. 307. Ed. 1615.) Though this is an account of a proceſſion, which belongs to an age long before the times of our Poet; yet we may obſerve in general that theſe ſpectacles in different periods, and in different countries, have a wonderful reſemblance to each other in all the particulars of coſt and magnificence. Though every page of our ancient hiſtorians may furniſh us with the materials of the Pageant, yet I requeſt the reader to caſt his eyes over the following deſcriptions in Stowe's annals, page 777, &c. 836, 916, 924. See likewiſe Jonſon's Maſques paſſim.

§ Floating iſlands were among the devices of theſe Spectacles. See in Jonſon's Maſque of Beauty 1608. "An account of the "ISLAND *floating* on a calm water: in the midſt of which was "erected a ſeat of ſtate called the Throne of Beauty." (P. 328.) This was derived from thoſe ſplendid exhibitions on the water, which were ſo common in the days of our Poet. Obſerve, that the word *delights* was among the appropriate terms by which theſe exhibitions were deſcribed. The Continuator of Stowe's Annals commends the "ſundry ingenious properties and devices" of a Maſk, that was prepared on the marriage of the Palſgrave with the lady

familiar materials, which formed the motley compound of the Maſque, the Pageant, or the Proceſſion. The reader will, perhaps, be gratified in diſcovering that all theſe ideas accompany the imagery of the *dolphin*, and are introduced by the Poet as the *viſionary* objects of a delightful *dream*.

" *Cleo.* I *dream'd*, there was an emperor Antony;—
" O, ſuch another ſleep, that I might ſee
" But ſuch another man!
" *Dol.* If it might pleaſe you—
" *Cleo.* His face was as the *Heavens*; and therein ſtuck
" A *Sun*, and *Moon*; which kept their courſe, and lighted
" The little O, the *Earth*.
" *Dol.* Moſt ſovereign creature—
" *Cleo.* His *legs beſtrid the ocean*: his *rear'd arm*
" *Creſted* the world: his voice was property'd
" As all the *tuned ſpheres*, and that to friends;
" But when he meant to quail and ſhake the *orb*,

lady Elizabeth 1613, and obſerves that they were all excellent, " fraught with art, ſtate, and DELIGHTS."

(Page 918. Edit. 1614.)

I cannot conclude this note without aſking why rule or its emblem is aſſociated with the *pocket*?

" That from a ſhelf the precious DIADEM ſtole
" And put it in his POCKET."

This is ſo direct, that it might even have afforded a parallel paſſage to our critics.

" He was as rattling *thunder*. For his *bounty*,
" There was no winter in't; an autumn 'twas,
" That grew the more by reaping: His *delights*
" Were DOLPHIN-like, they ſhew'd his BACK above
" The element they liv'd in: In his *livery*
" Walk'd *crowns and crownets*; *realms and iſlands* were
" As *plates* dropp'd from his pocket.
" *Dol.* Cleopatra,—
" *Cleo.* Think you, there was, or might be, ſuch a man
" As this I dream'd of?
" *Dol.* Gentle Madam, no.
" *Cleo.* You lie, up to the hearing of the gods.
" But, if there be, or ever were one ſuch,
" It's paſt the ſize of *dreaming*: Nature wants ſtuff
" To vie *ſtrange forms* with *fancy*; yet, to imagine
" An Antony, were nature's piece 'gainſt fancy,
" Condemning *ſhadows* quite."

(Act 5. S. 2. p. 585.)

Is it poſſible to employ terms more pointed and ſignificant than thoſe which might be ſelected from the concluding ſentence to deſcribe the nature and properties of ſuch romantic exhibitions? For what are the devices of the Pageant, but the creatures of a *dream*—the *ſtrange forms* of an illuſive *fancy* and the empty *ſhadows* of a ſportive imagination? There is another paſſage in this play which muſt be likewiſe referred to the ſame train of ideas, and I produce it on the preſent occaſion for the purpoſe

purpoſe of explaining a word, which has not been underſtood by our Commentators, and which appears to be particularly employed on the ſubject before us.

" *Ant.* Sometime, we ſee a cloud that's dragoniſh;
" A vapour, ſometime, like a bear, or lion,
" A tower'd citadel, a pendant rock,
" A forked mountain, or blue promontory
" With trees upon't, that nod unto the world,
" And mock our eyes with air: Thou haſt ſeen theſe ſigns;
" They are black veſper's *Pageants*.
" *Eros.* Ay, my lord.
" *Ant.* That, which is now a horſe; even with a thought,
" The RACK diſſimns; and makes it indiſtinct,
" As water is in water." (Act IV. S. xii. p. 561.)

Mr. Warton has already remarked on this firſt ſpeech of Antony that " the beauty both of the ex-
" preſſion and the alluſion is loſt, unleſs we recollect
" the frequency and the nature of theſe ſhews in
" Shakſpeare's age;" (H. of E. P. ii. p. 365.) but he was not aware that in the latter ſpeech—*the* RACK *diſſimns* is a continuation of the ſame alluſion. —Our Commentators have juſtly obſerved that the famous paſſage in the *Tempeſt* may receive ſome illuſtration from the Pageant; and we may add, that as the reflections (which it contains) were made at the cloſe of an exhibition of this nature, it is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the imagery would be

ſtrongly impregnated with the ſame ideas, by which theſe reflections were originally ſuggeſted. I ſhall quote the whole paſſage at full length, as it is the fate of many ſpeeches in Shakſpeare, which are impreſſed on the memory of the multitude, to loſe a conſiderable portion of their ſenſe and ſpirit by being detached from that train of thought which is connected with the perſon and ſituation of the character.

" Our revels now are ended: Theſe our actors,
" As I foretold you, were all ſpirits, and
" Are melted into air, into thin air:
" And, like the baſeleſs fabric of this viſion,
" The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
" The ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf,
" Yea all, which it inherit, ſhall diſſolve;
" And, like this inſubſtantial pageant faded,
" Leave not a RACK behind." (A. 4. S. 1. p. 79.)

Mr. Malone is inclined to Sir Thomas Hanmer's emendation, who for *rack* reads *track*; becauſe " *rack* is generally uſed by our ancient writers for a " *body of clouds ſailing along*; or rather for the *courſe* " *of the clouds when in motion.*" So in Antony and Cleopatra " the *rack* diſlimns;" whereas (as he thinks) it ought to ſignify here a *ſingle ſmall fleeting cloud*, of which ſenſe no inſtance has been produced. Our Commentators have not been aware that the RACK diſlimns refers to the Pageant; and, therefore, they have not ſeen, 1ſt, that the word

RACK is the true reading in the paſſage of the *Tempeſt*; and 2ndly, That it appears to have a peculiar reference to the ſubject of the *Pageant*. To remove, however, all our doubts on this occaſion, let us mark the following quotation from Jonſon's *Hymenæi, or the ſolemnities of Maſque and Barriers at a Marriage*; (p. 333.) "Here the upper part of the "ſcene, which was all of clouds, and made artifici-"ally to ſwell and ride like the RACK, began to "open, and the air clearing, in the top thereof "was diſcovered Juno ſitting in a throne, ſupport-"ed by two beautiful peacocks. Above her the "region of fire, with a continual motion was ſeen "to whirl circularly, and Jupiter ſtanding in the "top (figuring the Heaven) brandiſhing his thun-"der. Beneath her the rainbow Iris, and, on the "two ſides eight ladies, attired richly, and alike, "in the moſt celeſtial colours, who repreſented "her powers, as ſhe is the Governeſs of Marriage." If the reader ſhould be pleaſed by an example, which even in the uneſſential parts is completely ſimilar, this ſurely will be found to gratify his curioſity; as the word in queſtion is here introduced on the very ſubject and with the ſame perſonages annexed to it, which conſtitute the inſubſtantial pageant exhibited by Proſpero. We have in both caſes an *Hymenæal* Maſque, with *Juno* and *Iris* among the characters of the Spectacle.

Having thus eſtabliſhed the truth of the reading beyond all poſſibility of doubt, we have now

to enquire how the obvious ſpirit of the paſſage can be reconciled with the text; as every one agrees that *leave not a rack behind*, muſt ſignify, that not a veſtige—not the ſmalleſt part of the whole ſhall be left behind; but the difficulty conſiſts in diſcovering how the word RACK is introduced on this occaſion bearing ſuch a ſenſe. Let the reader, therefore, be informed that the Poet, occupied as his mind now is with a peculiar train of ideas and imagery, does not affix to the word *rack* its general and abſtracted ſenſe, but applies it to "a body of "clouds in motion,"—*when conſider'd as a conſtituent part in the machinery of a* PAGEANT. In exhibiting therefore the ruins of a fabric, in which the ſolidity of the globe itſelf, and ſuch mighty edifices as towers, temples, and palaces were diſſolved, what could poſſibly appear more inconſiderable and evaneſcent than that part of the ſpectacle, which repreſented the light and flimſy texture of the paſſing clouds? Mark then, ſays Proſpero, the little pageant that has juſt paſſed before your eyes, and is now vaniſhed into air. It is thus that the great Pageant of the world ſhall itſelf finally be no more:—not even the minuteſt portion of this vaſt machinery ſhall eſcape the general deſtruction—not a RACK—not an atom ſhall remain.

* Mr. Malone has a quotation, in which we find the *globe*, *towers*, and *temples* repreſented during the courſe of the ſame Pageant.

In

IN the diſcuſſion of a new doctrine, which has reference to the more minute and ſubtle principles of the mind, it is incumbent on the writer to proceed with caution in the explanation of his theory, and to unfold the various portions of his ſubject; as the reader himſelf advances in the neceſſary knowledge for admitting the force of the example and the ſpirit of the argument. The conſideration of the Pageant will afford me an opportunity of producing ſome additional reflections on various topics, which have before occupied my attention; and of extending or confirming my former diſcuſſions by a new train of collateral evidence.

We are enabled, by the preceding quotations, to form ſome idea of the extraordinary magnificence and extenſive machinery, which conſtituted the Pageants preſented at Court, and in which Royal perſonages and the chief nobility were not only the ſpectators, but were even frequently the actors. It is impoſſible for the reader to form an adequate notion of theſe performances, or to conceive their impreſſion on the minds of thoſe, to whom they were familiar, unleſs he will himſelf conſult the original narratives, which deſcribe their exhibition. When he reflects on the immenſe ſums which were laviſhed on theſe occaſions; and conſiders that the moſt celebrated artiſts and poets of the age were employed in diſplaying before a voluptuous Court, the

moſt conſummate ſpecimens of their ſkill, he will readily acknowledge the ſuperior grandeur of theſe romantic ſpectacles, nor will he wonder at the apparent labour of the relater, in ſelecting words and ideas to deſcribe the various ſplendors of ſo extraordinary a ſcene. The following quotation from *Jonſon's Hymenæi, or the Solemnities of Maſque and Barriers at a Marriage*, will illuſtrate the general tendency of our argument, by ſhewing us that the powers of the writer are ſinking under the burden of his own deſcription. "Hitherto extended the "firſt night's ſolemnity, *whoſe grace in the execution* "*left not where to add to it, with wiſhing*: I mean "(nor do I court them) in thoſe, that ſuſtained "the nobler parts. Such was the *exquiſite per-* "*formance*, as (beſide the *pomp, ſplendor*, or what we "may call *apparelling* of ſuch *preſentments*), that "alone (had all elſe been abſent), was of power to "*ſurprize with delight, and ſteal away the ſpectators* "*from themſelves*. Nor was there wanting what- "ſoever might give to the *furniture* or *complement*; "either in *riches*, or *ſtrangeneſs of the habits, delicacy* "*of dances, magnificence of the ſcene*, or *divine rap-* "*ture of muſick*. Only the envy was, that it laſted "not ſtill; or, (now it is paſt) *cannot by ima-* "*gination, much leſs deſcription, be recovered to a part* "*of that ſpirit it had in the gliding by*." (p. 336.) It appear again from the following paſſage in the ſame Maſque, that the poet conceived himſelf as exerting all the powers of his imagination and *in-*

vention

vention, in the arrangement of theſe exquiſite performances. " Here they danced forth a moſt neat " and curious meaſure, full of *ſubtilty* and *device*; " which was ſo excellently performed, as it ſeemed " to take away that SPIRIT from the INVENTION, " which the INVENTION gave to it; and left it " doubtful, whether the *forms* flowed more per- " fectly from the *author's brain*, or their feet." (p. 334.) We have obſerved on a former occaſion, that the imagination of the poet would be deeply impregnated with the wild and viſionary forms, which were thus frequently paſſing before his ſight; but we may add likewiſe, that his knowledge might receive conſiderable acceſſions from the elaborate devices of a learned inventor, in Greek and Roman Antiquities; in the dogmas and diſcoveries of philoſophers; in the facts of Hiſtory, and the fables of Mythology. The Maſques of Jonſon abound with a profuſion of learning; and when we diſcover in our poet, familiar alluſions to the opinions and cuſtoms of the ancients, we need not always imagine him to have acquired his information by the toil of ſtudy or the peruſal of books: we have only to ſuppoſe him preſent at theſe claſſical exhibitions, and to detail the knowledge, which there glided before his eyes. But theſe ſpectacles not only ſupplied the *poet* with imagery and knowledge: they ſuggeſted ideas likewiſe to the *player*, for the mechanical apparatus of his *Theatre*; and we may trace among the *properties* of

our

our ancient Stage, a poor and humble imitation of the ſplendid machinery of the *Pageant*. The following quotation from Mr. Warton will ſerve to ſtrengthen my opinion; as he confirms the general fact, though he does not extend it to the particular circumſtances which my hypotheſis comprehends. "I have obſerved in a former work, and it is a "topic, which will again be conſidered in its "proper place, that the frequent and familiar uſe "of allegoric perſonifications in the public Pa-"geants, I mean the general uſe of them, greatly "contributed to form the ſchool of Spenſer. But "moreover, from what is here ſaid, it ſeems pro-"bable, that the PAGEAUNTS, which being ſhewn "on civil occaſions, derived great part of their de-"corations and actors from hiſtorical fact, and "conſequently made profane characters the ſubject "of public exhibition, dictated ideas of a regular "Drama, much ſooner than the MYSTERIES: "which being confined to Scripture ſtories, or "rather the legendary miracles of ſainted martyrs, "and the no leſs ideal perſonifications of the "Chriſtian virtues, were not calculated to make ſo "quick and eaſy a tranſition to the repreſentations "of real life and rational action." (Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 202.) If ſuch then was the efficacy of the Pageant in elevating the fancy of the poet, and in ſupplying the firſt and moſt obvious materials for the conſtruction of the Drama, how potently muſt it operate on the genius of Shakſpeare, whoſe mind conceived and embraced at once all the

the forms of univerſal poetry; while it was at the ſame time peculiarly occupied in ſeeking the moſt impreſſive ſubjects of *Dramatic* action, and even perpetually employed in the mechanical arrangements of the Stage itſelf. To the mind of a writer working under impreſſions of this nature, no train of ideas would be more natural and obvious than to compare the contracted ſcene of his own performances; the mean devices of his own Theatre, and the *poor player* that *ſtrutted* on the *ſcaffolding* of his *own Stage*; with thoſe magnificent exhibitions, which were preſented in *palaces*: which "ſtole away "the ſpectators from themſelves, by the ſurpriſing "*inventions* of the machinery," and which were performed not only in the preſence of the *monarch*, but oftentimes by the firſt nobility and *princes* of the Court. When the reader ſhall have well conſidered theſe circumſtances, and ſhall likewiſe recollect (what we have before ſhewn from the Maſques of Jonſon) that a repreſentation of the *ſphere of fire* in the *higheſt Heaven*, was among the exquiſite *inventions* of ſuch performances, he will at once perceive the full force and ſpirit of the following paſſage, which on a former occaſion we were enabled only imperfectly to explain: He will diſcover the ſource from which the Poet probably derived his learning, and will acknowledge that the ideas were ſuggeſted from the objects of the Stage, *when compared with the ſplendors of the* PAGEANT.

"O, for

" O, for a muſe of FIRE, that would aſcend
" The brighteſt HEAVEN of INVENTION.
" A kingdom for a Stage, PRINCES to act
" And MONARCHS to behold the ſwelling ſcene.
* * * * * * * * * *
" But pardon, gentles all,
" The *flat unraiſed ſpirit*, that hath dar'd,
" On this *unworthy ſcaffold*, to bring forth
" So great an object: Can this cock-pit hold
" The vaſty fields of France? Or may we cram,
" Within this *wooden* O, the very caſques
" That did affright the air at Agincourt."

I cannot forbear adding, that in this mode of conceiving the above paſſage, an objection will be obviated and explained, which has been very acutely ſtarted by Dr. Johnſon. In the idea of *princes acting* and *monarchs beholding*, " Shak-
" ſpeare" (ſays he,) " does not ſeem to ſet diſtance
" enough between the performers and ſpectators."

That the properties of the ancient Theatre were borrowed from the Maſque and the Pageant, I am perfectly convinced; and inſtead of conſidering Dramatic exhibitions as an improvement on the miſteries and moralities of a former period, I am diſpoſed to think that they ſhould rather be regarded as feeble efforts to gratify the public with an imitation of thoſe ſpectacles, which were before generally confined within the private walls of the rich and the great. It appears from the preceding quo-

tations and from the various narratives relating to theſe ſhews, that an imitation of the *Heavens* and the *Clouds* was a very favourite and almoſt conſtant appendage to the machinery of the Pageant; and we may conjecture, I think, with great probability, that the name and repreſentation of the *Heavens* on the roof of the Stage, were derived from this ſource. I have ſhewn on a former occaſion, that an imitation of *Hell-mouth* was frequently attempted on the Stage, and that the objects which are moſt allied to this ſeat of ſmoke and darkneſs, the *Furnace*, the *Caldron*, and the *Cavern*, were among the ordinary properties of an ancient Play-Houſe; which were all, I have no doubt, ſuggeſted by exquiſite devices of the ſame kind in more compleat and furniſhed ſpectacles. In an age of ſuperſtition, the Pageant and the Theatre would certainly abound with the ſame ſubjects, which the miſteries and moralities afforded, and they would conſequently have frequent occaſion to exhibit ſtories which related to the terrors and the puniſhments of Hell *. On theſe occaſions, the

* The following quotations from Mr. Warton, may illuſtrate this matter. "While Henry the Seventh kept his reſidence at the "caſtle of Wincheſter, on occaſion of the birth of prince Arthur, "on a Sunday during the time of dinner, he was entertained with "a religious Drama, called CHRISTI DESCENSUS AD INFEROS; "or, *Chriſt's deſcent into Hell.*" (Warton's Hiſt. of E. P. vol. 2. p. 206.) In the *Kalendar of Shepherds* printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1497, there is a deſcription of ſeven viſions or the *puniſhments in Hell* of the ſeven deadly ſins; from which Shakſpeare might have taken his idea in the ſpeech of Claudio, *Ay but to die,*

Pageant would diſplay all the reſources of its machinery, and all the wonders of its invention; as amidſt the various materials, which folly, or fancy, or ſuperſtition could ſupply, no ſubject of exhibi-

die, &c. "This viſionary ſcene," (ſays Mr. Warton), of the "infernal puniſhments, ſeems to be borrowed from a legend re-"lated by Matthew Paris, under the reign of king John, in which "the ſoul of one Thurkhill, a native of Tidſtude in Eſſex, is "conveyed by Saint Julian from his body, when laid aſleep, into "Hell and Heaven. In Hell he has a ſight of the torments of "the damned, which are preſented under the form and name "of the INFERNAL PAGEANTS." (Hiſt. of E. P. v. ii. p. 198.) That the puniſhments of Hell are eaſily connected with Theatrical exhibitions, we may learn from the following deſcription of *Tertullian*, in which the powers of his fancy appear to have been invigorated by the ſuggeſtions of his charity. "You are "fond of SPECTACLES," exclaims the mild Tertullian, "ex-"pect the greateſt of all SPECTACLES, the laſt and eternal judg-"ment of the univerſe. How ſhall I admire, how laugh, how "rejoice, how exult, when I behold ſo many proud monarchs "and fancied gods, groaning in the *loweſt abyſs of darkneſs*; ſo "many magiſtrates who perſecuted the name of the Lord, liqué-"fying in fiercer fires than they ever kindled againſt the Chriſtians; "ſo many ſage philoſophers bluſhing in red-hot flames, with their "deluded ſcholars; ſo many celebrated poets trembling before "the tribunal, not of Minos, but of Chriſt; ſo many *tragedians*, "more tuneful in the expreſſion of their own ſufferings; ſo many "*dancers*, &c. &c." (See Gibbon, vol. 1. p. 566, 4to.) The legend of *Matthew Paris* is extremely curious, though I believe it has been oftener quoted than read. Mr. Warton might have ſelected from it, parts more ſtriking than thoſe which he has produced. The ſport which the proud man affords in this infernal Spectacle, is thus deſcribed. "Reſidentibus ad ludibrioſum "ſpectaculum miniſtris tartareis, princeps illius nefandæ cohortis, "ſatellitibus ſuis ait. Abſtrahatur de ſedili ſuo ſuperbus violenter,

"& ludat

tion would be more congenial to the nature of theſe wild performances, than the horrors and the torments of Hell. We may well conceive that ſcenery of this kind, frequently paſſing before the

" & ludat coram nobis. Abſtractus autem a dæmonibus & veſte " nigra indutus, omnem geſtum hominis ſupra modum ſuper- " bientis, coram dæmonibus ad invicem applaudentibus recitabit. " Cervix erigitur, vultus attollitur, oculi cum arcuatis ſuper- " ciliis ſurgunt in obliquum, imperioſe tumidis intonat verbis, " ludunt humeri, vix brachia ferre præ faſtu non valentes, in pec- " tus extenditur, collum ſupinat, vultu candet, ignitis oculis iram " pronoſticat, naſumque digito percutiens, magna minatur. Sic " ventoſa ſuperbia de facili turgens, riſum præbebat ſpiritibus " monſtroſis. Et cum de veſtibus gloriaretur, manicaſque con- " ſuendo conſtringeret, ſubito in igneam formam veſtes converſæ, " totum corpus miſeri hominis exurebant." The adultereſs and her paramour are thus deſcribed, and I rejoice that the narrative of this ſpectacle is concealed under the veil of a learned language. " Adductus eſt poſt illum ad ſpectaculum furioſorum dæmonum " adulter cum adultera, qui fœda pariter conjuncti copula, tur- " piſſimos motus venereos geſtuſque impudicos, cum multa ſui " confuſione ac dæmonum exprobratione palam omnibus repli- " carunt." " Thurkhill is then conducted into the manſions of " the bleſſed, which are painted with ſtrong oriental colouring; " and in paradiſe, a garden repleniſhed with the moſt delicious " fruits, and the moſt exquiſite variety of trees, plants, and " flowers, he ſees Adam, a perſonage of gigantic proportion, but " of the moſt beautiful ſymmetry, reclined on the ſide of a foun- " tain which ſent forth four ſtreams of different water and colour, " and under the ſhade of a tree of immenſe ſize and height, laden " with fruits of every kind, and breathing the richeſt odours." (Warton.) This auguſt perſonage is clothed in part only with a veſt of various hues and of moſt wonderful beauty. In one eye you may diſcover the expreſſions of joy, and in the other of grief. Of joy, (ſays the archangel Michael), for the happineſs of his poſterity,

eyes, would operate with conſiderable force on the powers of the imagination, and would deeply mark with the traces of its effect, the deſcriptions and imagery of the Poet. Even the humble imitation of the ſame objects on the Stage would ſerve to recall the impreſſion; and we may expect to find in the Dramatic writers, ſtrong and lively teſtimonies of its exiſtence. From many of the paſſages which led me to conclude that a portion of the lower part of the Stage was denominated by the name of *Hell*, I was induced to believe, that an imitation of the ſmoke iſſuing from the mouth of Hell, was ſometimes exhibited. I will now prove to the reader that ſuch a repreſentation took place in the higher ſpectacle of the Pageant; and the conviction of this fact will add weight to the other part of my hypotheſis, as they were both derived from the ſame paſſages, and from a ſimilar principle of criticiſm. I will produce in this place an additional body of quotations illuſtrative of my former

poſterity, who have obtained the beatitude of ſalvation: Of grief, for the miſery of thoſe whom the righteous judgment of God has doomed to condemnation. The imperfect veſt with which he is adorned, is the *garment of glory and immortality*. At the fall Adam was deprived of this garment, which he began to recover ſince the days of Abel, and which has increaſed from that period both in magnitude and in the variety of its colours, by the ſucceſſion of the virtues of the juſt. When the number of the elect ſhall be accompliſhed, and the conſummation of all things ſhall arrive, the VEST OF GLORY and IMMORTALITY will be compleat! (Matthew Paris, p. 212. Edit. Fig.)

topic

topic and therefore, connected with the preſent; and I ſhall requeſt the reader to compare them *carefully* with the former paſſages, that he may be fully ſenſible of their force and ſimilarity. He will perceive that they all contain the ſame ſpecies of imagery; and he will acknowledge that they are derived either remotely or directly from the *perſonifications* or *devices* of *ſcenical exhibition*.

NIGHT.
1. With *black brows* is drawn by *dragons*, and her abode is the *bed of death*.
2. With a *cloak*, attended by *murder* and *treaſon*.
3. With a *foul* and *filthy face*.
4. It's *contagious breath ſmokes* about the Sun.

I. The *ugly* clouds cover the *face* of the morning.

II. The *contagious* clouds and the *foul* miſts *ſmother* and *ſtrangle* the *beauty* of the Sun.

III. *Miſts* ariſe from a *reeking cave of Death*, (or *ſlaughter*), to infect an object compared to the ſplendor of the *Sun*, in which cave ſit *Murther*, *Rapine*, and *Luſt*.

1. "My fairy lord, this muſt be done with haſte;
"For NIGHT's ſwift *dragons* cut the clouds full faſt,
"And yonder ſhines Aurora's harbinger;
"At whoſe approach, ghoſts, wandering here and there,
"Troop home to church-yards; damned ſpirits all,
"That in croſs-ways and floods have burial,

" Already to their *wormy beds* are gone;
" For fear leſt day ſhould look their ſhames upon,
" They wilfully themſelves exile from light,
" And muſt for aye conſort with *black brow'd* NIGHT.

(*Midſummer Night's Dream*, Act 3. S. 2. p. 505.)

2. " But when from under this terreſtrial ball
" He fires the proud tops of the Eaſtern pines,
" And darts his light through every guilty hole,
" Then *murders*, *treaſons*, and deteſted ſins
" The *cloak of* NIGHT being pluck'd from off their backs,
" Stand bare and naked, trembling at themſelves."

(*Richard* II. Act 2. S. 2. p. 54.)

3. " And all the while ſhe" (NIGHT) " ſtood upon the ground,
" The wakeful dogs did never ceaſe to bay;
" The meſſenger of death, the ghaſtly owle,
" With drery ſhrieks did alſo her bewray;
" And hungry wolves continually did howle
" At her *abhorred face*, ſo *filthy* and ſo *fowle*."

(Spenſer's *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. C. 5. St. 30.
This is quoted by Mr. Malone, V. 2. p. 536.)

4. " But even this NIGHT, whoſe black *contagious breath*,
" Already *ſmokes* about the burning creſt
" Of the old, feeble, and day-wearied Sun.

(K. John, Act 5. S. 4. p. 559.)

I. " Full

I. " Full many a glorious morning have I ſeen
" Flatter the mountain-tops with ſovereign eye,
" Anon permit the baſeſt clouds to ride
" With *ugly* rack on his celeſtial *face*."
(Shakſpeare's Sonnets, 33.)

This is properly quoted by Mr. Malone, as parallel to the ſucceeding paſſage.

II. " Yet herein will I imitate the Sun;
" Who doth permit the baſe *contagious* clouds
" To *ſmother* up his *beauty* from the world,
" That, when he pleaſe again to be himſelf,
" Being wanted, he may be more wonder'd at,
" By breaking through the *foul* and *ugly miſts*
" Of vapours, that did ſeem to *ſtrangle* him."
(Firſt Part of Henry IV. A. 1. S. 2. p. 129.)

III. " His former rayes did only clear the ſky;
" But theſe his ſearching beams are caſt, to pry
" Into thoſe dark and deep concealed vaults,
" Where men commit black inceſt with their faults,
" And ſnore ſupinely in the ſtall of ſin:
" Where *Murther*, *Rapine*, *Luſt*, do ſit within,
" Carowſing humane blood in iron bowls,
" And make their den the *ſlaughter-houſe* of ſouls,
" From whoſe *foul reeking Caverns* firſt ariſe,
" Thoſe damps, that ſo offend all good men's eyes,
" And would (if not diſpers'd), *infect* the crown
" And in their vapor her bright metal drown."
(Jonſon's *Panegyre on the happy entrance of James I. into his firſt high Seſſion of Parliament*, p. 312.)

In the two following quotations from Jonſon's Maſques, NIGHT is firſt, probably, *perſonified* in a painting; and ſecondly, ſhe is brought on the ſtage with her *chariot*.

1. "Here a curtain was drawn, in which the "NIGHT was painted." (p. 328.)
2. "Here the NIGHT riſes, and took her *chariot* "beſpangled with ſtars." (p. 600.)

The following quotations will confirm my hypotheſis reſpecting HELL at the bottom of the Stage:

1. "I'll put me on my great carnation noſe, and "wrap me in a rowſing calf's ſkin ſuit, and come "like ſome hobgoblin, or ſome *devil aſcended* from "the griſly *pit of Hell*; and like a ſcarbabe make "him take his legs. I'll *play* the *devil*, I warrant "ye." (*Wily beguiled*, 1606.)

(I am indebted for this quotation to the Editor of the Old Plays, V. 2. 34.)

2. "Act IV. S. 1. Before this act Megæra *riſeth* "out of HELL, with the other furies, Alecto and "Tyſiphone, dancing an helliſh round, which "done, ſhe ſaith:

Megæra.

"Siſters, begone, bequeath the reſt to me,
"That yet belongs unto this *tragedy*.

"Vengeance

" Vengeance and death from forth the deepeſt HELL,
" I bring the curſed houſe, where Giſmunda dwells."
(*Tancred and Giſmunda*, Old Plays, 2. p. 195.)

3. " Firſt the muſick of howeboies began to " playe, during which there came FROM UNDER " THE STAGE, AS THOUGH OUT OF HELL, three " furies, Alecto, Megera, and Ctiſiphone, clad in " black garmentes."

(Explanation of the Dumb Shew before the fourth act of *Gorboduc*.)

4. In the Necromancer by Shelton, " the laſt " ſcene is cloſed with a *view of* HELL, and a dance " between the devil and the necromancer. The " dance ended, the devil trips up the necroman- " cer's heels and diſappears in *fire and ſmoke*."
(Warton's Hiſt. of E. P. vol. 2. p. 363.)

5. In the myſtery of Mary Magdalen, one of the Stage directions is " *Here enters the prynſe of the* " *devylls in a ſtage, with* HELL ONDER-NETH THE " STAGE." (Warton, ibid.)

6. " In the heat of their dance, on the ſudden, " was heard a ſound of loud muſick, as if many in- " ſtruments had made one blaſt; and with which " not only the haggs themſelves, but the HELL, " into which they ran, quite vaniſhed."
(Jonſon's MASQUE of Queens, 351.)

 7. " His

7. "His majeſty, then being ſet, and the whole "company in full expectation, the part of the "ſcene which firſt preſented itſelf was an UGLY "HELL, WHICH FLAMING BENEATH SMOKED TO "THE TOP OF THE ROOF."

(The ſame MASQUE, 345.)

I conſider the laſt quotation as altogether deciſive on the material parts of my hypotheſis. It eſtabliſhes the conjecture reſpecting the imitation of *ſmoke* from the *mouth of Hell*, and accounts for all that abundance of imagery, which deſcribes the *miſts*, the *ſmoke*, the *vapours*, and the *reeking* of the *Furnace* or the *Cavern*.

On the whole of this diſcuſſion, the reader will, I truſt, be of opinion, that my hypotheſis, formed and ſupported *, as it is, by ſuch a mode of illuſtration, may at leaſt claim the diſtinction of novelty; that the body of coinciding evidence produced on this occaſion, is altogether irreſiſtible, and that the doctrine of aſſociation, when applied to criticiſm, is ſtill exerciſed in examining the moſt ſubtle objects of metaphyſical enquiry; while it eſcapes in a conſiderable degree, the tedious obſcurity of thoſe inveſtigations. In the reaſoning of metaphyſicians, the operations

* Let it be remembered that if the name of Hell at the lower part of the Stage, ſhould *not* have eſcaped the knowledge of our critics; ſtill however the paſſages, from which I draw this concluſion, are equally illuſtrative of the theory which I am diſcuſſing. They contain the ſame ſpecies of aſſociation, and many of them ſhould be referred to the ſame principle of indirect alluſion.

of

of the mind are diſcuſſed in general and abſtracted terms, and we too often ſearch for exiſting facts to which they may be referred, and from which they are derived. We "bend our eye on vacancy," and ſink under the languor of ſtudy, alike deſtitute of objects and ideas. The critic, who ſhould purſue the reſearches which we have opened to his view, at once forms and elucidates his enquiry by the evidence of examples; and though his own arrangement of the argument ſhould be ſomewhat deficient in ſpirit and perſpicuity, the mind of the reader will be yet enlivened by the effuſions of the *Poet*, who ſuggeſts the principles of the theory, and ſupplies the materials of the diſcuſſion.

It is well known and acknowledged that the pageants, or ſhews upon the water, were ſometimes equally magnificent with thoſe on land; and accordingly we find that an object moving on the water with a majeſtic motion, and the ſailing of veſſels gallantly furniſhed, ſerve often to poſſeſs the mind of the Poet with the ideas and language, which are appropriate to the ſubject of the Pageant. It is obſerved by a critic of great eminence (who has indeed juſtly acquired the united praiſes of taſte and ſagacity), that the beauty of the following paſſage is derived from this orign. "Milton" (he obſerves), "ſays finely of the *Swan*—

"The Swan with arched neck
"Between her white wings mantling proudly ROWS
"HER STATE."

(Paradiſe Loſt, B. 7. 439.)

" I ſhould think he might probably have that " line of Fletcher in his head.

" How like a Swan ſhe SWIMS HER PACE."

" The expreſſion, you ſee, is very like. Tis true, " the image in Milton is much nobler. It is taken " from a barge of ſtate in a public proceſſion."

(Hurd on the Marks of Imitation, p. 225.)

Dr. Farmer, by pointing out the original paſſage from which Milton borrowed his idea, has in part confirmed the opinion of Dr. Hurd; though I am ſomewhat ſurpriſed that he has omitted to quote on this occaſion ſo ingenious a conjecture.

(Eſſay on the Learning of Shakſpeare, 31.)

" Like a *ſhip in her full trim*,
" A *Swan*, ſo white that you may unto him
" Compare all whiteneſſe, but himſelfe to none,
" Glided along, and as he glided watch'd,
" And with his arched neck this poore fiſh catch'd."

(Donne's Progreſs of the Soul. St. 24.)

Though the critic has juſtly conceived the general idea and ſpirit of the image, yet he has not been aware of the preciſe ſenſe, which Milton affixes to the word *State*. It is not here uſed with the ſame ſignification, which we now annex to it in the expreſſions: " Barge of *State*," " Robes of *State*—" that which is peculiar to the *dignity* of *place or office*; but

but it is here uſed (as among our ancient writers), to ſignify the *pomp* and *ſtately appearance* of a PAGEANT or a PROCESSION. In the deſcription of a Maſque given by the Inns of Court in honour of the marriage between the Palſgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, the relater has employed this word and its derivative, no leſs than four times in the following ſhort paſſage. "Firſt rode fiftie choyce gen-
"tlemen richly attyred, and as gallantly mounted,
"with every one his footemen to attend him:
"Theſe rode very *ſtately* like a vauntguard:
"Next after with fit diſtance, marched an antique,
"or mock-maſk of baboons, attired like fantaſtique
"travaillers, in very ſtrange and confuſed manner,
"ryding uppon aſſes, or dwarfe jades, uſing all
"apeiſh and mocking trickes to the people, moving
"much laughter as they paſt, with torches on
"either ſide to ſhew their STATE to be as ridicu-
"lous, as the reſt was noble: After them came
"two chariots triumphal, very pleaſant and full of
"STATE, wherein rode the choyce muſitians of
"this kingdome, in robes like to the Virginian
"prieſts, with ſundry deviſes, all pleaſant and
"ſignificant, with two rankes of torches: Then
"came the chiefe maſkers with great STATE in
"white Indian habit, or like the great princes of
"Barbary, richly imbrodred with the golden ſun,
"with ſuteable ornaments in all poynts, about their
"neckes were rufs of feathers, ſpangled and beſet
"with pearle and ſilver, and upon their heads lofty
corronets,

" corronets ſuiteable to the reſt." In the ſame deſcription, which only occupies about a page and a half, it occurs thus frequently in the following manner: " There was a very *ſtately* " Maſke of Lords and Ladies," &c. The Inns of Court " agreed amongſt themſelves to ſette out " two ſeverall rich and *ſtately* maſks," which were " brave in habite, rych in ornaments, in demeanor " courtly, in their going by land and water very " *ſtately* and orderly." Again, " becauſe there " ſhould be a full view had of their STATE and " train," &c. " Their ſundry ingenious properties " and deviſes, were all excellent, fraught with art, " STATE, and delights, having all their actors " correſpondent. Theſe maſkers with their whole " trayne in all triumphant manner, and good order " took barge at Wincheſter ſtayres, about 7 of the " clocke that night, and rowed to White hall " againſt the tyde: the chiefe maſkers went in the " Kinges barge royally adorned, and plenteouſly " furniſhed with a great number of great wax " lights, that they alone made a glorious ſhew: " other gentlemen went in the Princes barge, and " certayne other went in other fayre barges and " were led by two admiralles; beſides all theſe " they had foure luſtie warlike galleyes to convey " and attend them, each barge and galley being re- " pleniſhed with ſtore of torch lights, made ſo " rare and brave a ſhow upon the water, as the " like was never ſeene upon the Thames." (Howe's

Continuation

Continuation of Stowe p. 916, &c.) It is evident from the paſſage in Donne, that Milton was poſſeſſed with the idea of a *ſhip in full trim**, and it is manifeſt likewiſe from my quotations, that by the word *ſtate*, he has added to the original notion, by conceiving a veſſel *in full trim*, moving gallantly along, *ſuch as ſhe appears in the* STATE OF A PUBLIC PROCESSION. As a complete confirmation of Dr. Hurd's conjecture, I ſhall produce the following paſſage from Shakſpeare, in which we actually ſee that the portly motion of veſſels in full trim, recalls to the mind of the Poet the ſubject of the Pageant.

" Your mind is toſſing on the ocean;
" There, where *your argoſies with portly ſail*,
" Like ſigniors and rich burghers on the flood,
" Or as it were the PAGEANTS of the Sea,
" Do over peer the petty traffickers,
" That curt'ſy to them, do them reverence,
" As they fly by them with their woven wings."
(Merchant of Venice, A. I. S. i. p. 5.)

We may naturally conceive from the preceding

* This will explain a difficulty ſtarted by Dr. Bentley, who wonders that Milton ſhould make the *Swan* of the feminine gender, contrary to the practice of the Greeks and Latins.—Milton's thoughts were employed on the *Ship*.

" As when a *Ship* by ſkilful ſteerſman wrought
" Near river's mouth, or foreland, where the wind
" Veers oft, as oft ſo ſteers, and ſhifts HER ſail."
(Paradiſe Loſt, B. 9. 513-4.)

quotations,

quotations, that our ancient Poets, in deſcribing the greatneſs of a naval armament, would be ſtrongly impreſſed with the ideas belonging to theſe gawdy ſpectacles preſented on the water, and we ſhall be ſtill more convinced of the intimate union between theſe ſubjects, when we learn that even the veſſels deſtined for actual ſervice were often adorned with all the ſplendors, which was diſplayed in the exhibitions of the Pageant. "In our old Poetry and "Romances," (ſays Mr. Warton,) "we fre-"quently read of ſhips ſuperbly decorated." This was taken from real life. "Froiſſart, ſpeaking of "the French fleet in 1387, prepared for the in-"vaſion of England under the reign of Richard "the Second, ſays, that the ſhips were painted "with the arms of the commanders, and gilt, with "banners, pennons and ſtandards of ſilk: and that "the maſts were painted from top to bottom, "glittering with gold. The ſhip of Lord Guy "of Tremoyll was ſo ſumptuouſly garniſhed, that "the paintings and colours coſt 2000 French "franks, more than 222 pounds of Engliſh cur-"rency at that time. See Grafton's Chron. p. 364. "At his ſecond expedition into France, in 1417, "King Henry the Fifth was in a ſhip, whoſe "ſails were of purple ſilk moſt richly em-"broidered with gold. Speed's Chron. B. 9. p. "636. edit. 1611. Many other inſtances might "be brought from ancient miniatures and illu-"minations." (Hiſt. of E. P. V. 2. p. 267. N.)

When

When theſe obſervations ſhall be duly weighed and underſtood, I beſeech the unprejudiced reader to conſider the following paſſage, which may juſtly excite his curioſity and attention: I will then confidently demand of him, whether, amidſt all the obſcurity, in which this paſſage is involved, he does not manifeſtly diſcover, not only the traces, but even a marked accumulation of that peculiar vein of ideas and imagery, which the preceding facts had taught him to expect in the writings of an ancient Poet? The paſſage contains a deſcription of the armament prepared by Richard the Firſt on his expedition to the Holy Land, whoſe exploits were celebrated in every age as the favourite ſubject of popular entertainment.

" Sprytes[a] of the bleſte, the pious Nygelle ſed,
" Poure owte yer pleaſaunce[b] onn mie fadres hedde.
" Rycharde of Lyons harte to fyght is gon,
" Uponne the brede[c] ſea doe the banners gleme[d];
" The amenuſed[e] nationnes be aſton[f],
" To ken[g] ſyke[h] large a flete, ſyke fyne, ſyke breme[i].
" The barkis heafods[k] coupe[l] the lymed[m] ſtreme;
" Oundes[n] ſynkeynge oundes upon the hard ake rieſe;

[a] Spirits. [b] Pleaſure, *or bleſſings.* [c] Broad. [d] Shine, glimmer. [e] Diminiſhed, leſſened. [f] Aſtoniſhed, confounded. [g] See, diſcover, know. [h] Such, ſo. [i] Strong, *furious.* [k] Heads. [l] Cut. [m] Glaſſy, reflecting, *poliſhed.* [n] Waves, billows. [o] Oak.

[p] A muſical

" The water ſlughornes[p] wythe a ſwotye[q] cleme[r]
" Conteke[s] the dynnynge[t] ayre, and reche the ſkies.
" Sprytes of the bleſte, on gouldyn trones[u] aſtedde[x],
" Poure owte yer pleaſaunce onn mie fadres hedde.
" The gule[y] depeyncted[z] oares[*] from the black tyde,
" Decorn[a] wyth fonnes[b] rare, doe ſhemrynge[c] ryſe;
" Upſwalynge[d] doe heie[e] ſhewe ynne drierie pryde,
" Lyche gore-red eſtells[f] in the eve[g]-merk[h] ſkyes;
" The nome-depeyncted[i] ſhields, the ſperes aryſe,
" Alyche[k] talle roſhes on the water ſyde;
" Alenge[l] from bark to bark the bryghte ſheene[m] flyes;
" Sweſt-kerv'd[n] delyghtes doe on the water glyde.
" Sprites of the bleſte, and everich feyncte ydedde,
" Poure owte youre pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde.

[p] A muſical inſtrument, not unlike a hautboy, *rather a war trumpet.* [q] Sweet. [r] Sound. [s] Confuſe, contend with. [t] Sounding. [u] Thrones. [x] Seated. [y] Red. [z] Painted. [a] Carved. [b] Devices. [c] Glimmering, or *ſhining.* [d] Riſing high, ſwelling up. [e] They. [f] A corruption of *eſtoile*, Fr. a ſtar. [g] Evening. [h] Dark. [i] Rebuſed ſhields; a herald term, when the charge of the ſhield implies the name of the bearer. [k] Like. [l] Along. [m] Shine. [n] Short lived, *rather quick made bubbles.*

[*] By *oares* Mr. Bryant underſtands what we now call *wherries*, from the Latin *horia.* " In Rowley," (ſays Mr. Bryant,) " they ſignify barges, which were painted red; and as they ap-
" proached within view of the enemy on the ſhore, they ſeemed to
" riſe

This quotation is taken from a collection of poems, which (I humbly preſume) were *not* written by a boy of the preſent age, but by a venerable bard, who flouriſhed in the latter portion of the fifteenth century. It is remote from the duty of an occaſional critic to diſcuſs or detail the principles of this Rowleian controverſy; yet I cannot but obſerve that the evidence of a ſingle paſſage may infallibly prove the exiſtence of ancient originals, while a multitude of examples, containing doubtful or even direct marks of modern phraſeology, will not neceſſarily eſtabliſh a contrary hypotheſis. The age of an ignorant or a careleſs tranſcriber may be diſcovered from the corruptions of the copy; and the experience of a judicious critic has taught him ſo little to rely on the infallible accuracy of tranſcribers, that he even rejoices in the teſtimony of this very corruption to aſcertain the antiquity, and to appreciate the value of his manuſcript. When we obſerve therefore the traces of modern phraſeology in the poems of Rowley, we are not edified by a diſcovery, which adds nothing to our knowledge; as we learn only what we already knew, that the tranſcriber exiſted in the eighteenth century; and we are reminded that the ſtory of his

"riſe by degrees from the ocean; and from the reflection of the "Sun upon their rich ornaments are compared to ſtars." (p. 46.) Mr. Bryant will, I truſt, *rejoice* to find that his explanation of this paſſage is totally unfounded, when he ſhall diſcover that in detecting his error I have ſtrengthened his hypotheſis.

life,

life, his youth, and his education, might lead us to expect abundant examples of error, of ignorance, and of temerity. When I reflect however, on the peculiar diſadvantages which confined and impeded the ſtudies of this unfortunate boy, I am aſtoniſhed that the corruptions have been ſo few in number and ſo inconſiderable in magnitude; and I ſeem to have extended my faith to the very verge of improbability, when I conſider him as able even to *tranſcribe* the poems in that ſtate of purity and perfection, with which they are now preſented to the curioſity of the critic and the taſte of the intelligent. Though the veſtiges of modern compoſition are frequently to be found in the poems of Rowley; yet I cannot but obſerve that the writers, who under the name of Chattertonians, have endeavoured to diſcover proofs of its exiſtence, are generally unfortunate in their examples; and that the words which they have ſelected as the objects of attack, may be commonly defended, at leaſt with equal probability, and may often be eſtabliſhed by the moſt indubitable teſtimonies of genuine antiquity. For my own part, I have frequently experienced in the peruſal of theſe poems, that my ſuſpicions reſpecting the authenticity of a certain phraſeology, have been totally removed, as my knowledge in the ſubject has increaſed; and the force of my conviction advances, as I am more deeply impreſſed with the genius of our ancient poetry. Even the perplexity and confuſion of a

paſſage

paſſage have often ſupplied me with the moſt inconteſtible argument in favour of my hypotheſis, as it has ſerved to bring at once under my view the blended properties of the author and the tranſcriber, and to mark out the unequivocal diſtinction, which muſt neceſſarily exiſt between the obſcurity, that is ſuperinduced by the agency of one on the compoſition of another, and that which alone proceeded from the confuſed imagination of the original author. This remark is applicable to a variety of paſſages; in which the ſophiſtication, though it may be ſeen, cannot be ſeparated; and in which we are unable to aſcertain the reſpective ſhares of the author and the tranſcriber in producing the obſcurity. But what ſhall we ſay to thoſe paſſages, where the critic, either by fortune or ſagacity, ſhould be enabled to diſentangle the property of the one from that of the other; and by a new, though natural arrangement to ſeparate the ſenſe of the author from the confuſion of the tranſcriber? The Rowleians will there diſtinguiſh the purity of the original from the adulteration of the copy; and the Chattertonians may then contemplate and enjoy (if they pleaſe), the felicity or dexterity of their *juggling* bard, "who palters with us in a double ſenſe;" who, according to his own conception or repreſentation of a ſentiment, produces only the *adumbration* of a meaning, which is moſt adapted to his purpoſe, and yet for the benefit of a future critic, conceals under the ſame words

another arrangement and a new interpretation, which exhibit in the moſt pointed terms, the ſenſe and the ſpirit of his ſubject *. The ſecond ſtanza of the preceding quotation will ſupply us with a very extraordinary example of this nature; and let it not be forgotten, that the apparent ſenſe which is annexed to it by Chatterton, is connected with the ordinary ſignification of the words, without conveying to the mind any information of the remote cuſtoms, which were appropriate to the age deſcribed; while that which is ſuggeſted by the critic, contains the moſt preciſe narrative of a pecu-

* On the general queſtion of Chatterton not underſtanding the poems which he copied, Mr. Bryant obſerves at the concluſion of his work, "Whoever brings a copy of a prior writing, and does "not underſtand that writing, that perſon cannot be the author. "In ſhort, if a boy produces a *reputable* exerciſe and cannot con- "ſtrue it, there is not an uſher at a boarding-ſchool, but will tell "him, he did not make it." This argument is ſo perfectly unanſwerable, that Mr. Warton has replied to it as if Mr. Bryant's hypotheſis had been preciſely the contrary. "But if a maſter," (ſays Mr. Warton), "was to order a ſcholar to bring an exerciſe "written in Chaucer's ſtyle, and the boy not having a competent "knowledge of old Engliſh, could not afterwards very readily "explain his taſk, the maſter would not tell him that he did not "make it becauſe he could not explain it, but would blame him "for his *unſkilful* uſe of Chaucer's language, and direct him to "ſtudy it with more attention." (Enquiry, pag. 60.) Let us ſuppoſe however, with Mr. Bryant, that the boy produces a *reputable* exerciſe containing a *ſkilful* uſe of language, and let the boy not be able to explain it, I think there is no uſher at a boarding-ſchool but will tell him he did not make it.

liar

liar fact, as it exiſted in the times recorded by the Poet. I thus point and interpret the lines, to which I have alluded.

" The gule depeyncted oares from the black tyde,
" Decorn wyth ſonnes rare, doe ſhemrynge ryſe:
" Upſwalynge doe heie ſhewe ynne drierie pryde,
" Lyche gore red eſtells in the eve-merk ſkyes,
" The nome depeyncted ſhields: The ſperes aryſe,
" Alyche talle roſhes on the water ſyde."

By *oares* I underſtand with Mr. Bryant, the barges or veſſels themſelves; and I imagine that on the ſides of theſe veſſels they were accuſtomed to arrange the ſhields and the ſpears in a manner, which will be beſt underſtood by the deſcription of the Poet. This then will be the ſenſe of the paſſage: " The " red painted veſſels, worked with curious orna- " ments, riſe from the dark ocean, glittering to the " view:—Elevated by the ſwelling waves they " exhibit in the dread pride of hoſtile ſhew, the " ſhields painted with heraldic devices, like blood " red ſtars in the obſcurity of the night: While " the ſpears, as they riſe erect from the waves, ap- " pear like tall ruſhes growing on the ſides of the " water." In this deſcription, the compariſon of the ſhields to blood red ſtars is noble and perſpicuous; that of the ſpears to tall ruſhes exact and pictureſque: The propriety however of theſe compariſons is derived from the ſuppoſition of a certain arrangement on the ſides of the veſſels; which,

I hope, will not be conſidered as an unwarranted conjecture, when the paſſage ſo readily reſolves itſelf into ſenſe by ſuch an hypotheſis. What however will the reader ſay, when I actually produce the deſcription of a naval armament, in which ſuch an arrangement was in part adopted, and which was deſtined for the ſervice of a cruſade only twelve years diſtant from the enterpriſe of Richard. This ſingular narrative (which contains the moſt ſtriking reſemblance to the whole deſcription of Rowley) is an account of the Venetian fleet, in their voyage from Zara to Conſtantinople, A. D. 1203; and it is collected from the original writers of that age by an author, whoſe *induſtry is indefatigable—accuracy ſcrupulous—reading immenſe*. "A ſimilar "armament," (ſays Mr. Gibbon) "for ages, had "not rode the Adriatic: It was compoſed of one "hundred and twenty flat-bottomed veſſels or "palanders for the horſes; two hundred and forty "tranſports filled with men and arms; ſeventy "ſtore ſhips laden with proviſions, and fifty ſtout "gallies, well prepared for the encounter of an "enemy. While the wind was favourable, the "ſky ſerene, and the water ſmooth, every eye was "fixed with wonder and delight on the ſcene of "military and naval pomp which overſpread the "the ſea. *The ſhields of the knights and ſquires, at "once an ornament and a defence, were arranged on "either ſide of the ſhips*; the banners of the nations "and families were diſplayed from the ſtern; our "modern

" modern artillery was ſupplied by three hundred " engines for caſting ſtones and darts: the fatigues " of the way were cheered with the ſound of " muſic; and the ſpirits of the adventurers were " raiſed by the mutual aſſurance, that forty thou- " ſand Chriſtian heroes were equal to the conqueſt " of the world." (Hiſt. vol. vi. p. 147. 4to.) If Mr. Gibbon had been deſirous of writing a commentary on the paſſage of Rowley, he could ſcarcely have choſen any terms more ſignificant for the purpoſe of elucidation. The circumſtance however of the *ſpears riſing erect* accompanying the *ſpreading ſhields*, on the ſides of the veſſels, had eſcaped even the *induſtry*, the *accuracy*, and the *reading* of Mr. Gibbon. I rejoice however, that I can preſent the reader with a deſcription of a naval armament in the year 1304, in which theſe very circumſtances are both diſtinctly recorded in the ſame line. Ducange has ſupplied me with the paſſage, which is to be found in an old French poem by William de Guiart.

" Quant cil dedans Flamens choiſirent,
" Qui en leurs nés les attendirent,
" Où tant ot bannieres enclines
" Dras enarmés à euures fines,
" *Environ les bors* eſpandus,
" LANCES DROITES, *eſcus pandus.*"

(Hiſtoire de l'Empire de Conſtantinople, p. 284.)

Having eſtabliſhed this curious fact, I will pro-

duce ſome quotations, which will illuſtrate the general imagery of Rowley, and convince us that they are all to be referred to a common origin. The obſcurity, which may appear in theſe narratives, ariſes only from our inability to form any diſtinct idea of ſo remote and peculiar a ſpectacle, though we perceive that the writers are occupied in delineating the *ſame* objects of naval pomp, which belonged to the age deſcribed; and that they all appear to be oppreſſed with an equal difficulty of conveying to the reader, any adequate idea of the variety, the grandeur, and the brilliancy of the *ſame* extraordinary ſpectacle. The firſt quotation is from *Geoffrey Viniſauf*, "an accompliſhed "ſcholar," in the reign of Richard the Firſt, who has left us a very amuſing narrative of that monarch's expedition to the Holy Land. He thus deſcribes the approach of Richard's fleet to Meſſina. "Ecce eminus proſpiciunt mare galeis opertum "innumeris, & vox à longe intonabat in aures "eorum *tubarum reboantium*, & *lituum clarius & "acutius reſonantium*, interea propius accedentibus "fuit videre galeas ſeriatim remigantes, variis un-"dique ornatas & refertas armaturis, ventilan-"tibus ad auram innumeris penuncellis, & ſignis "ordine decoro, in haſtilium ſummitatibus, roſtris "galearum *varietatibus picturarum diſtinctis*, appen-"ſorum in ſingulis proris, *ſcintillantibus radiis*, "*ſcutorum*, videres ex multitudine adventantium "remigantium mare ferveſcere, tubarum intona-

"tionibus,

" tionibus, quas trumpas vulgo dicunt, audientium " aures tinnire, & ex vario tumultuantium acceſſu, " delectationem excitari." (Richardi Regis Ster. Hieroſolymitanum. See Gale's Scriptor. Hiſt. Anglican. V. 2. p. 307-8. See likewiſe p. 331.)

Roger Hoveden deſcribes the approach of the ſame fleet to Meſſina thus: " Viceſima tertia Sep- " tembris Richardus rex Angliæ venit Meſſanam " in Sicilia, cum burciis multis, & aliis magnis " navibus, & galeis in tanta gloria & ſonitu " tubarum & buccinûm, quod tremor apprehendit " eos qui in civitate erant." (Annal. p. 383. in " Edit. Savil. 1596.) Let the reader obſerve that in all the deſcriptions of a fleet, the writers perpetually inſiſt on the *lituorum ſtridor, clangor tubarum, ſtrepitus cornicinum*; theſe (ſays *Matthew Paris* in his narrative of Richard's approach to Acre), " littora " repleverunt, terra per circuitum reſonabat." (p. 157. Edit. Tig. 1606.) A very ſingular account of a fleet occurs in the author of the eulogium on the life of Emma, to which I am again directed by the learning of Ducange. We ſhould be blind indeed amidſt theſe reſearches, without the labours of this indefatigable collector.

(Hiſt. de l'Emp. de Conſtantinople, p. 283-4.)

I ſhall quote the paſſages more at large, as they were publiſhed by *Ducheſne* from a manuſcript in the Cottonian library *.

* It was obtained from the library of Sir Robert Cotton by the intereſt of *Camden*. The name of the author who compoſed

" Erant autem ibi ſcutorum tanta genera, ut " crederes adeſſe omnium populorum agmina. " Tantus quoque decorinerat puppibus, ut intuen- " tium hebetatis luminibus, flammeæ magis quam " igneæ viderentur à longè aſpicientibus. Si quando " enim ſol illis jubar immiſcuit radiorum, hinc " reſplenduit fulgor armorum, illinc vero flamma " dependentium clypeorum. Ardebat autem in " roſtris, fulgebat quoque argentum in variis " navium figuris. Tantus ſiquidem claſſis erat " apparatus, ut ſi quam gentem ejus vellet expug- " nare Dominus, naves tantùm adverſarios terre- " rent, priuſquam earum bellatores pugnamullam

this *eulogium* is unknown, but he was cotemporary with the lady whom he celebrates, and the ſcenes which he deſcribes. In this account of naval pomp, the reader will perceive that we have carried it from the times of Emma to the age of Henry V. The traces of this idea were not obliterated even in the year 1666, " that period of great expectation" among the Jews. It then ſupplied the materials of ſplendor to a propheſy which was again deſtined to mock the expectations of that deluded and deluding people. " It was told about, that great multitudes marched from " unknown parts to the remote deſerts of Arabia, and they were " ſuppoſed to be the ten tribes of Iſrael, who have been diſperſed " for many ages; that a ſhip was arrived in the north parts of " Scotland with SAILS AND CORDAGE of SILK, that the mari- " ners ſpake nothing but Hebrew, that on the ſails was this " motto, *The twelve Tribes of Iſrael.*" The wealthy Jews, who rejoice in the good things of London and Amſterdam, will not, I imagine, be mightily exhilarated by the proſpect of a voyage to Paleſtine; even though the ſails of their veſſel ſhould be of *ſilk*, and their mariners ſhould ſpeak nothing but *Hebrew*. (See Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſ. Hiſt. V. 3. p. 338.)

" capeſ-

" capeſcerent. Nam quis contrariorum leones
" auri fulgore terribiles, quis metallinos homines
" aureo fronte minaces, quis dracones obrizo ar-
" dentes, quis tauros radiantibus auro cornibus
" necem intentantes in puppibus aſpiceret; & nullo
" metu regem tantæ copiæ formidaret?" (Emmæ Encomium, p. 168.) " Aggregati tandem turritas
" aſcendunt puppes, æratis roſtris duces ſingulos
" videntibus diſcriminantes. Hinc enim erat
" cernere leones auro fuſiles in puppibus, hinc
" autem volucres in ſummis malis venientes auſtros
" ſuis ſignantes verſibus, aut dracones varios mi-
" nantes incendia de naribus. Illinc homines de
" ſolido auro, argentove rutilos, vivis quodammodo
" non impares; atqe illinc tauros erectis ſur-
" ſum collis, protenſiſque cruribus, mugitus, cur-
" ſuſque viventium ſimulantes. Videres quoque
" delphinos electro fuſos, veteremque rememorantes
" fabulam de eodem metallo centauros. Ejuſdem
" præterea cælaturæ multa tibi dicerem inſignia,
" ſi non * monſtrorum, quæ ſculpta inerant, me

* The reader will not wonder at the *fonnes rare* belonging to the veſſels of Rowley. Mr. Tyrwhitt doubts about this word in oppoſition to Speght, to Junius, and to other later lexicographers. (Vindication, pag. 52.) Rowley is every where conſiſtent. It is extremely curious that he again uſes this word and applies it in the ſame ſenſe, which the paſſages here produced ſeem to annex to *fonnes rare*. In both places they are applied to the *monſtrous repreſentations* of ſculptors and painters.

" The tournament begynnes; the hammerrs ſounde;
" The courſerrs lyſſe [a] about the menſuredd [b] fielde

[a] Sport, or play, *or bound*. [b] Bounded, or meaſured.

" The

" laterent nomina. Sed quid nunc tibi latera
" carinarum memorem, non modo ornatitiis depicta
" coloribus, verum etiam aureis argenteiſque aſpera
" ſignis? Regia quoque puppis tanto pulchritudine
" ſui cæteris præſtabat, quanto rex ſuæ dignitatis
" honore milites antecedebat. De qua melius eſt
" ut ſileam, quàm pro magnitudine ſui pauca
" dicam. Tali itaque freti claſſe, dato ſigno re-
" pente gaudentes abeunt, atque ut juſſi erant, pars
" ante, pars retro, æquatis tamen roſtris, regiæ
" puppi ſe circumferunt. Hic videres crebris
" tonſis verberata latè ſpumare cœrula, metallique
" repercuſſum fulgore ſolem duplices radios exten-
" dere in aera." (Emmæ Eulogium, p. 166. apud Hiſt. Normann. Scriptor, Ed. *Ducheſne*.)

I ſhall not affront the underſtanding of my reader by any attempt to enforce the ſimilarity of theſe narratives with the deſcription of Rowley; nor would I deſcend into the ground of controverſy with a critic, whoſe mind ſhould be impregnable to the force of ſuch powerful authorities.

" The ſhemrynge [c] armoure throws the ſheene [d] arounde,
" Quayntyſſed [e] FONS [f] depictedd [g] onn eche ſheelde,
" The feerie [h] heaulmets, wythe the wreathes amieldc [i],
" Supportes the rampynge lyoncell [k] orr beare,
" Wythe *ſtrange depyctures* [l], *nature maie nott yeelde*;
" Unſeemelie to all orderr doe appere."

[c] *Shining*. [d] Luſtre. [e] Curiouſly deviſed. [f] Fancies, or devices. [g] Painted, or diſplayed. [h] Fiery. [i] Ornamented, enameled. [k] A young lion. [l] Drawings, paintings.

Rowley

Rowley (we ſee) has not only arranged his fleet preciſely according to the cuſtoms of the age which he deſcribed; but he has added likewiſe, from the impreſſions of naval pomp ſo familiar to his own days, all that ſpirit and animation, which can never be created by the abſtract workings of the mind; but are the immediate and neceſſary productions of an external agency. The ſituation of Rowley would ſupply him with frequent opportunities of ſurveying the ſplendor of veſſels deſtined for actual ſervice; and he muſt ſometimes have been witneſs to the pompous devices of naval pageantry. Mr. Warton juſtly obſerves that our ancient poets in their frequent deſcriptions of ſhips *ſuperbly decorated*, detail only the objects of *real life*, and we accordingly find this very ſentiment in *The Merrie Tricks of Lamyngetowne* the Pirate, which was produced by Chatterton as an interlude by John Iſcam the friend of Rowley.

" My bark the laverd of the waters ryde,
" Her ſayles of *ſcarlet* and her ſtere of *gold*."

As I conſider the preceding diſcuſſion to contain all the conviction, which the art of criticiſm can afford; I will now commit myſelf to the candour and curioſity of the reader by propoſing a conjecture, which more intimately connects the paſſage of Rowley with the ſubject of the pageant; and which may perhaps defend the writer from the imputation of a remote and unmeaning digreſſion. I imagine then that the *whole* of this poem is a kind

of

of explanatory chorus to a *Dumb Shew* or *Pageant*, which repreſented the more general and ſplendid occurrences of Richard's expedition to the Holy Land. Such a pageant might be performed at the expence of Canning, whoſe taſte, riches, and magnificence, would naturally lead him to the performances of theſe ſpectacles. This propenſity of a liberal merchant to the ſplendid diverſions of his age, which of ourſelves we ſhould readily have conjectured, is particularly conſpicuous in the papers produced by Chatterton; as in a ſmall collection of poems we find no leſs than four *dramatic* performances, *Ella*, *Goddwyn*, *The Tournament*, and *The Parliament of Sprytes**. The firſt of theſe performances was "plaiedd before Maſtre Canynge atte "hys howſe nempte the Rodde Lodge;" and in the ſecond he was himſelf an actor. According to theſe papers, Rowley expreſsly celebrates the ſuperior taſte of himſelf and of his patron on the ſubject of *Dramatic* exhibitions (p. 169 and 172-3.); and when Canning was rebuilding Redcliff church, he thus writes to Rowley, "Now for a wondrous "pyle to aſtounde the eyne: Penne an enterlude "to be plaiedd uponne layeying the fyrſte ſtone of "the buyldynge and wriete parte for Iſcamme; "ſuch ys hys deſyre." This Iſcamme is the author

* This is publiſhed by Mr. Barrett in his hiſtory of Briſtol. (p. 600.) There is likewiſe an Interlude called "*The Worlde*;" (p. 629.) And a reference to another interlude of Rowley called "*The Apoſtate*." (p. 603.)

of

of the *Merry Tricks of Lamington* mentioned above; and he "was eſteemed by Canning a good actor "as well as good poet." According to this requeſt a *dramatic* piece was prepared, entitled A "moſt merrie entyrlude plaied by the Carmelyte "Freeres at Maſtre Canynge his greete houſe; be-"fore Maſtre Canynge and Biſhoppe Carpenterre "on dedycatynge the chyrche of our ladie of "Redcliff; hight *The Parlyamente of Sprytes* wroten "by T. Rowley and J. Iſcam." (Milles Edit. p. 187.). We may obſerve likewiſe that nothing could be more aptly choſen by the inventor of a pageant, than a ſubject of ſuch a nature, which not only celebrated a popular ſtory, but contained likewiſe a repreſentation in which the pride and glory of his patron particularly conſiſted. The ſhew or pageant, which repreſented the ſplendor of naval preparations, would certainly gratify in the moſt eminent degree the vanity of a merchant, whoſe "argoſies with portly ſail," appeared to the wondering ſpectator, as "the PAGEANTS of the "Sea." This idea of conceiving the ſecond eclogue will give a life and ſpirit to the whole, of which it before appeared to be deſtitute; for though in the uſual manner of underſtanding it, we were enabled to admire the genius of the writer, and the extreme accuracy, with which he has adapted particular narratives to the age and hiſtory of Richard; yet there ſtill remained on the face of the whole a certain obſcurity and confuſion; there

was

was ſtill ſomething wanting to comprehend the genuine deſign, which directed and animated the poet in the modes of his deſcription, and in the colourings of his imagery. By this clue we underſtand, why the writer has comprized under one narrative, the *general* circumſtances of ſplendor and glory attending the exhibition of his heroe; why he has *minutely* enlarged on the hiſtorical facts beſt ſuited to ſcenical repreſentation; and why he has formed his deſcriptions in that peculiar manner, which is calculated rather to make a vivid impreſſion on the ſpectator, than to intereſt the feelings of a ſolitary reader. The ſpirit of the poem may be ſeen by the following delineation.

[The Firſt and Second Stanzas as quoted above.] "Behold" ſays the chorus, addreſſing itſelf to the audience, "behold the gallant fleet of Richard "now paſſing before your eyes—mark the glitter-"ing banners—the dinn of muſick—the ſwelling "motion of the veſſels—and the various ſplendors "of heraldic ornaments, and of arms arranged in "warlike ſhew—of ſhields twinkling like ſtars and "of ſpeares, which ſeem like tall ruſhes on the "ſide of the water: In a word, behold gliding "on the waves the gawdy* devices, which decorate "the pageant.

* This I mean as a general interpretation of a line which I do not preciſely underſtand.

"Sweft-kerv'd delyghtes doe on the water glyde."

I formerly read the line and I applauded my own ſagacity in the emendation,

[Third and Fourth Stanzas.] 3rd. "Mark thoſe "who are now peeping out to watch the advancing "fleet—they are the Saracens all in fear, leſt the "Engliſh ſhould be approaching—obſerve they "run here and there in diſmay—mark the banner "of the croſs gleaming in the air—behold how the "courage of the Infidels is ſinking at the ſight—you "may diſcover it by the marks of fear viſible in "their countenances. 4. Obſerve the preparations "for landing—mark the order and the ardour of "the troops—view the glittering arms—hearken "to the daſhing waves—obſerve the diſorder pro-"duced among the Saracens—afraid to ſtay and "aſhamed to fly, they draw their ſwords even as "they are running—they ſeem now diſpoſed to "fight—they make a ſtand.

"* The Saraſen lokes owte: he doethe feere,
"That Englondes brondeous° ſonnes do cotte the waie.

° Furious.

emendation, "Swefte kervedde lyghtes, &c." We may ſee however, by the preceding quotations, that *delights* was the appropriate term for the *gawdy and pleaſant devices of the Pageant*. The inſtances of this uſage are innumerable.—Thus though we are unable to explain the full force of the paſſage, yet 'we underſtand enough 'to perceive the propriety of the word in queſtion.' I may be pardoned if I turn Mr. Warton's argument againſt himſelf. (Enquiry p. 12.)

* As the Chattertonians are ſaid to be the wags of the preſent controverſy; I may chance perhaps to have "ſome odd quirks and "remnants of wit broken on me;" when I ſhall venture to draw my illuſtrations from the humble ſpectacle of a *Puppet-ſhew*. It

is

" Lyke honted bockes, theye reineth here and
there
" Onknowlachynge inne whatte place to obaie.

is however from the *Puppet-ſhew* of a " great maſter;" who, in delineating with the moſt conſummate accuracy a remote, an obſcure, and perhaps an unintereſting ſubject, has contrived to afford unbounded gratification to every reader, to the old and the young, the wiſe and the ignorant. This is the puppet-ſhew of *Cervantes*, who has certainly ſeized on all the topics, which were the moſt prominent and conſpicuous in more elevated exhibitions. We may obſerve in general that no imitation of the pageant would be more accurate than that which was preſented by the puppet-ſhew; as the moſt preciſe reſemblance might be formed on ſo ſmall a ſcale and with ſuch materials, without labour or expence. The *puppet-ſhew* opens with " a great ſound of kettle drums, and trumpets, " and a volley of great ſhot." We ſee in the pageant of Rowley the *peeping out of the Saracens*, " The Saraſen lokes owte." This ſeems to have been a common device in theſe ſpectacles. " Looke " you there, that perſonage that *peepes out* there with a crowne on " his head, and a ſcepter in his hand, is the Emperor Charlemaine, " the ſuppoſed father of the ſaid Meliſendra, who grieved with " the ſloth and neglect of his ſonne in law, comes to chide him: " and marke with what vehemency and earneſtneſſe he rates him, " as if he meant to give him halfe a doozen connes with his " ſcepter." (Shelton's Don Quixote, part ii. p. 171.) In Jonſon's *entertainment* before the Queen and Prince at the Lord Spenſer's at *Althrope* we have " a ſatyr *advanced his head above* " the top of the wood, wondring;" again, " the ſatyr *peeping* " out of the buſh." (p. 314.) In the maſque of Oberon we have " at one corner of the cliff, above the horizon, the moon began " to ſhew, and riſing, a ſatyr was ſeen (by her light) to *put forth* " *his head* and call." (p. 359.) Marlow in his *Edward the Second*, deſcribing *ſylvan nymphs*, and the devices of *maſks, comedies*, and *pleaſing ſhows*, introduces *ſatyrs grazing on the lawns*, and among

" The banner gleſters on the beme of daie;
" The mitte [r] croſſe Jeruſalim ys ſeene,
" Dhereof the ſyghte yer corrage doe affraie [s],
" In balefull [t] dole their faces be ywreene [u].
" Sprytes of the bleſte, and everich ſeyncte ydedde [x]
" Poure owte your pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde.

4. " The bollengers [x] and cottes [y], ſoe ſwyfte yn fyghte,
" Upon the ſydes of everich bark appere,
" Foorthe to his offyce lepethe everych knyghte,
" Eſtſoones [z] hys ſquyer with hys ſhielde and ſpere.
" The jynynge [a] ſhieldes doe ſhemre and moke glare [b];

[r] Mighty. [s] Affright. [t] Woeful. [u] Covered. [x y] Different kinds of boats. [z] Full ſoon, preſently. [a] *Joining*. [b] *Much*, glitter-

among the reſt of the exhibitions is " One like Acteon *peeping* " thro' the greove;" on which Dr. Hurd has obſerved, that we may ſee how exactly Marlow has painted the humour of the times " from the entertainment" (to which I have above referred), " provided, not many years after, for the reception of King James " at Althrop in Northamptonſhire; where this very deſign of " ſylvan nymphs, *ſatyrs*, and *Actæon*, was executed in a maſque by " B. Jonſon." (Dialogues. v. 1. p. 194. 5th Edit.) That diſcerning critic might have ſhewn the accuracy of Marlow ſtill more pointedly, had he obſerved that the dramatiſt has even noticed the peculiar circumſtance ſo ſtriking in theſe ſpectacles of their *peeping* out of the ſcenery. When we find in modern poets any imagery of the ſame kind, we muſt refer it to the frequent recurrence of this idea among our ancient writers, who originally derived it from the impreſſions of the pageant.

" The doſheynge oare doe make gemoted[s] dynne;
" The reynyng[t] foemen[u], thynckeynge gif[v] to dare,
" Boun[w] the merk[x] ſwerde, theie ſeche to fraie[y],
theie blyn[z].
" Sprytes of the bleſte, and everyche ſeyncte
ydedde,
" Powre owte yer pleaſaunce onne mie fadres
hedde."

[Fifth and Sixth Stanzas.] 5. " The Saracens " are now even advancing to fight—behold that " figure diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, as the pre- " ſence of the Sun eclipſes the moon and ſtars, he is " glittering in golden armour and ſhaking aloft his " hand—it is the gallant Richard. (6.) The fight " begins—behold thoſe tremendous forms who are " exciting the champions to battle—it is FEAR " with her locks of blood—it is TERROR, whoſe " footſteps are attended with the rattling of " thunder—it is DEATH with her hideous aſpect, " hand in hand with DISMAY—ſpear is coping " with ſpear—ſword with ſword—hark to the " noiſe of armour on armour—of ſhield on ſhield " —behold what numbers fall—the plain is co- " vered with the dead."

5. " Now comm the warrynge Saraſyns to
fyghte;
" Kynge Rycharde, lyche a lyoncel[r] of warre,

[s] United, aſſembled. [t] Running. [u] Foes. [v] If. [w] Make ready.
[x] Dark. [y] Engage. [z] Ceaſe, ſtand ſtill. [r]

" Inne

" Inne ſheenynge goulde, lyke feerie [m] gronfers [n] dyghte [o],
" Shaketh alofe hys honde, and ſeene afarre.
" Syke haveth I eſpyde a greter ſtarre
" Amenge the drybblett [p] ons to ſheene fulle bryghte;
" Syke ſunnys wayne [q] wyth amayl'd [r] beames doe barr
" The blaunchie [s] mone or eſtells [t] to gev lyghte.
" Sprytes of the bleſte, and everich ſeyncte ydedde,
" Poure owte your pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde."

6. " Diſtraughte [u] Affraie [x] wythe lockes of blodde-red die,
" Terroure, emburled [y] yn the thonders rage,
" Deathe, lynked to Diſmaie, dothe ugſomme [z] flie,
" Enchafynge [a] echone champyonne war to wage.
" Speeres bevyle [b] ſperes; ſwerdes upon ſwerdes engage,
" Armoure on armoure dynn [c], ſhielde upon ſhielde;
" Ne dethe of thoſandes can the warre aſſuage,
" Botte falleynge nombers ſable [d] all the feelde.
" Sprytes of the bleſte, and everych feyncte ydedde,
" Poure owte youre pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde."

[m] Flaming. [n] A meteor, from *gron*, a fen and *fer*, a corruption of fire, that is, a fire exhaled from a fen. [o] Deckt. [p] Small, inſignificant. [q] Carr. [r] Enameled. [s] White, ſilver. [t] Stars. [u] Diſtracting. [x] Affright, *fright* or *fear*. [y] Armed. [z] Terribly. [a] Encouraging, heating. [b] Break, a herald term, ſignifying a ſpear broken in tilting, or *bend to*. [c] Sounds. [d] Blacken.

[Seventh and Eighth Stanzas.] The Saracens fall on all ſides—the troops of Richard are victorious—you may obſerve their good fortune by " the erect poſture of the *myſtic ſtandard*—behold " Richard himſelf ſtained in blood, flying through " every troop and bearing down all who oppoſe " him—behold the Turkiſh banner laid low—the " moon or creſcent (with which it is adorned) " fades before the ſun of Richard. (8.) The " victory is compleat—Richard is the conqueror—" the Engliſh banner flutters aloft in the air—you " may conceive the joy of the victorious army—" you may ſee it expreſſed upon their brows: " Imagine, that they are now returned to England " —there are they received almoſt with adoration " —nothing is there to be ſeen but cordial con-" gratulations of return—embracings—feaſts and " merriment—ſo perfect is their joy, that you can " diſcern no traces of paſt ſorrow remaining on " their countenances—you have been witneſs to " the prayers of the pious Nigel, who has not ceaſed " during the whole expedition to implore the " ſaints for the happy return of his father—his " piety is now rewarded—you have ſeen, how he " ruſhed forward to the beach, when the ſwelling " ſails firſt danced before his eyes—then it was that " he found his father ſtepping from the ſea:—Ye " who have ſouls to feel, think on the emotions " excited by ſuch a meeting.

7. " The

7. " The foemen fal arounde; the * croſs reles' hye;
" Steyned ynne goere, the harte of warre ys ſeen.

* Waves.

* " The croſs reles hye." The account of this *myſtic ſtandard*, in the *erect poſture* of which the fortune of the Chriſtians was deeply intereſted, is wonderfully curious. " Rex Richardus primo præ-
" fuit agmini, & primariam gerebat cuſtodiam: Normanni
" vallabant *Standardum*, quod, ut plenius innoteſcat, non ab re
" duximus deſcribendum. Eſt igitur trabes longiſſima, velut
" malus navis, ſuper quatuor rotas, ſoldiſſimis compoſita laquear-
" bus, & compaginata juncturis, ferro veſtita, quæ nec gladiis vel
" ſecuribus videretur ceſſura, vel igni, in cujus eminentiori cacu-
" mine Regium vexillum ventilabat affixum, quod vulgo dicunt
" baneriam. Huic inſtrumento conſervando alectorum militum
" manus ſolet, præſertim in prælio campeſtri deputari; ne, viz.
" hoſtili incurſione diſſipetur, vel quacunque dejiciatur injuria,
" quia *ſi forte quocunque caſu dejiciatur, tunc diſſipatur exercitus &*
" *confunditur*; quia confugiat quo non comparet; ſed & belli
" ducem tunc pavido corde exiſtimant jam ſuperatum, cujus ſignum
" non conſiderant porrectum, nec ad reſiſtendum adverſariis facile
" populus ulterius convaleſcit, cujus principem incurriſſe diſcrimen
" ſui vexilli dejectione pertimeſcit; verum, dum *ſignum iſtud*
" *perſeverat erectum*, habet populus certum quo recurrat refugium.
" Huc infirmi curandi, huc conferuntur vulnerati vel etiam in
" prælio forte perempti; qui fuerunt viri famoſi vel illuſtres;
" unde, quia ſtat fortiſſime compaginatum in ſignum populorum,
" a ſtando ſtandardum vocatur. Super rotas quoque non incongrue
" collocatur, quatenus ſecundum prælii ſtatum id producatur ce-
" dentibus hoſtibus, vel retrahatur eiſdem ingruentibus. Huic
" igitur ſtandardo Normanni aſſiſtebant & Angli."

(Rich. Iter. Hieroſol. p. 349.)

I have ever admired in Rowley the dexterity and propriety, with which he has introduced the objects of his deſcription. We ſee here that the fortune of the day was connected with the erect

" Kyng Rycharde, thorough everyche trope dothe flie,
" And beereth meynte[f] of Turkes onto the greene;
" Bie hymm the floure of Aſies menn ys ſleene[g];
" The waylynge[h] mone doth fade before hys ſonne;
" Bie hym hys knyghtes bee formed to actions deene[i],
" Doeynge ſyke marvels[k], ſtrongers be aſton[l].
" Sprytes of the bleſte, and everych ſeyncte ydedde,
" Poure owte your pleaſaunce onn mie fadres hedde."

8. " The fyght ys wonne; Kynge Rycharde maſter is;
" The Englonde bannerr kiſſeth the hie ayre;

[f] Many, great numbers. [g] Slain. [h] Decreaſing. [i] Glorious worthy. [k] Wonders. [l] Aſtoniſhed.

poſition of the ſtandard, becauſe that circumcumſtance was conſidered by the army as a token of the valour and good fortune of the leader. Hence then *the waving aloft of the royal banner regium vexillum ventilans, affixum in eminentiori cacumine ſtandardi erecti*, is an admirable introduction to the gallant achievements of Richard. There is no mention of the figure of the croſs in this banner; but we may be well aſſured that this ſymbol would not be wanting in the banner of a Cruſade. I am diſpoſed to think that the ſame banner is before deſcribed. If this ſhould be the caſe, the different purpoſes, for which it is introduced on both occaſions, are very dextrouſly pointed out by the mode of repreſenting it.

" The *banner gleſters onthe heme ofdaie*
" The mitte *croſs* Jeruſalim ys *ſeene*,
" Dhereof the ſyghte yer corrage doe affraie.

Perhaps this extraordinary ſtandard might have been dignified with the name of *Jeruſalem*.

Full

" Full of pure joie the armie is iwys [m],
" And everych one haveth it onne his bayre [n];
" Agayne to Englonde comme, and worſchepped there,
" Twyghte [o] into lovynge armes, and feaſted eft [p];
" In everych eyne aredynge [q] nete of wyere [r],
" Of all remembrance of paſt peyne bereſte.
" Sprites of the bleſte, and everich feyncte ydedde,
" Syke pleaſures powre upon mie fadres hedde."

" Syke Nigel ſed, whan from the bluie ſea
" The upſwol [s] ſayle dyd daunce before his eyne;
" Sweſte as the wiſhe, hee toe the beeche dyd flee,
" And founde his fadre ſteppeynge from the bryne
" Lette thyſſen [t] menne, who haveth ſprite of loove,
" Bethyncke untoe hemſelves how mote the meetynge proove."

Such, I will venture to conjecture, is the ſpirit of the poem. We may perhaps be inclined to wonder that the adventure of Nigel and his father, which appears to occupy ſo ſmall a place in the exhibition, ſhould yet be produced as the important circumſtance by which the ſpectacle is commenced and concluded. It is not however uncommon with our ancient poets to form ſome ſhort or inconſiderable ſtory in order to introduce that more material part, which is really intended for the ſubject of the performance. We all know that the *Taming of the*

[m] Certainly. [n] Brow, or *heaver*. [o] Plucked, pulled. [p] Often. [q] *No conſideration, or thought.* [r] Grief, trouble. [s] Swollen. [t] Theſe.

Shrew, is an appendage only to the adventures of Sly. Mr. Bryant obſerves, (p. 359.) that "there "is a happy concurrence of circumſtances in all "theſe Rowleian enquiries and that freſh light "ſeems continually to ariſe in confirmation of the "whole." I am perſuaded that there are other parts of Rowley, which are to be underſtood in the ſame manner as the ſecond eclogue; and to be conſidered under the idea of an explanatory chorus deſcribing the various parts of a ſpectacle, which is paſſing before the eyes. Such are the chorus at the end of Godwyn, which celebrates the triumph of Freedom over Tyranny, the firſt ſong of the minſtrells in the Tournament, which preſents William the Conqueror in his favourite diverſion of hunting, and the other ſong of the minſtrells at the end of this perſormance, which deſcribes the repoſe of a champion after the toils of war, by the perſonification of BATTAYLE embracing PLEASURE, as ſhe comes dancing from the bowers of delight.

The Chorus of Goddwyn begins thus:

"Whan Freedom, dreſte yn blodde-ſteyned veſte,
"To everie knyghte her warre-ſong ſunge,
"Uponne her hedde wylde wedes were ſpredde,
"A gorie anlace bye her honge.
"She daunced onne the heathe,
"She hearde the voice of deathe.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

"She

" She ſhooke the burled [c] ſpeere,
" On hie ſhe jeſte [d] her ſheelde;
" Her foemen [e] all appere,
" And flizze [f] alonge the feelde."

Dr. Farmer will perhaps be ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf ſuddenly transformed into a defender of Rowley; yet if my idea of the poem and if his interpretation of the word *jeſte* ſhould be well founded, this term is ſingularly adapted to the occaſion, when applied in that peculiar ſenſe, which ancient language has annexed to it. " To *jeſt*," ſays Dr. Farmer, " ſometimes ſignified in old " language to *play a part in a* MASK." In the paſſage of Rowley it will then mean, " that the perſonage " repreſenting Freedom brandiſhed her ſhield (as " became her *playing a part in a maſk*) with all the " graces of *mimic exhibition*." The paſſage, to which the explanation of Dr. Farmer is applied, occurs in Richard II. and the ſentiment, which it appears to contain, bears a wonderful reſemblance to the imagery in Rowley. Norfolk, as he is about to engage in ſingle combat with Bolingbroke, thus ſpeaks;

" Never did captive with a freer heart
" Caſt off his chains of bondage, and embrace
" His golden uncontroll'd enfranchiſement,
" More than my *dancing* ſoul doth celebrate

[c] Armed, pointed. [d] Hoiſted on high, raiſed.

" This

" This *feaſt of battle* with mine adverſary,
" Moſt mighty liege, and my companion peers,
" Take from my mouth the wiſh of happy years.
" As gentle and as jocund, as to JEST
" Go I to fight: Truth hath a quiet breaſt."
(Richard II. A. I. S. 3. p. 16.)

Mr. Steevens obſerves on the expreſſion "*This* "*feaſt of battle*," that "*war is death's feaſt*, is a "proverbial ſaying." But here it is not the feaſt of death, but of war. I believe that the "feaſt of "battle" is a feaſt given in celebration of a ſucceſsful battle or combat; in which if any diſplays of pageantry were repreſented adapted to the occaſion, they would certainly conſiſt in mimic triumphs and devices of chivalry. Though I do not underſtand the preciſe circumſtances to which Norfolk alludes, I perceive on the whole ſome very ſtriking features of reſemblance in the two paſſages. In Rowley, there is a *Shew* repreſenting a conteſt in which Freedom is introduced that ſhe may triumph over Tyranny, DANCING, *ſinging her warr-ſong*, and JESTING with her ſhield. In Richard II. Norfolk ſays that he goes to fight in a *real* tournament, as if he were going to do what I ſuppoſe *Freedom* here does, namely, only to JEST; to perform a part in a maſk of chivalry or to exhibit in the ſpectacle of a *mock* tournament. His ſoul DANCES as if he were in the act of celebrating the *feaſt* of battle, (as *Freedom* here comes *dancing* and celebrating her triumph), not as if about to be engaged in the dangers of the fray. Let us obſerve in this poem, that in the *abſtract*

act

act contemplation of *TYRANNY*, there is little reaſon for making his ſpear a ſun beam or his ſhield a ſtar; but in the exhibition of a fantaſtic ſpectacle, in which his head is reared into the ſkies, the ſun beam and the ſtar are very characteriſtical appendages to ſo extraordinary a perſonage. Let us obſerve likewiſe, that this idea will account for introducing a *definite* number of arrows in the hand of War; though why they ſhould be ten, I am unable to diſcover.

" *Tenne* bloodie arrowes ynne hys ſtreynynge fyſte."

Before I quit this Chorus, I cannot forbear communicating two parallel paſſages, from which *Chatterton* (if the critics will ſo have it), has borrowed with conſiderable effect, the language and ſpirit of ancient poetry.

" *Harde* as the thonder dothe ſhe *drive* ytte on."

So in the 1ſt Part of Jeronimo. (Old Plays, 3. 66.)

" I will be *hard* like *thunder*, and as rough
" As northern tempeſts."

Again in the viſion of Pierce Plowman, quoted by Mr. Warton. (Engliſh P. V. i. p. 215.)

" Death came *dryvyng* after, and all to duſt paſhed
" Kyngs and kayſers, knyghtes and popes."

With reſpect to the firſt ſong of the minſtrells in the Tournament, I cannot forbear obſerving that the ſpirit of it may receive ſome illuſtration from the explanation of the Dumb Shew, at the beginning

beginning of Locrine. If Chatterton had produced this poem under the idea of a chorus, what an opportunity would the critics have had of diſcovering the plagiariſm? With reſpect to the ſecond ſong of the minſtrells, I will produce the authority of Mr. Warton, to illuſtrate its conformity with the ſpirit of our ancient poets.

" Whann Battayle, ſmethynge [k] wyth new-quick-
enn'd gore,
" Bendynge wythe ſpoiles, and bloddie-droppynge
hedde,
" Dydd the merke [l] woode of ethe [k] and reſt ex-
plore,
" Seekeynge to lie onn pleaſures downie bedde,
" Pleaſure, dauncynge fromm her wode,
" Wreathedd wythe floures of aiglintine [l],
" Fromm hys vyſage waſhedd the bloude,
" Hylte hys ſwerde and gaberdyne."

This alteration of the meaſure into one of a more lyric caſt on the appearance of pleaſure, has certainly the air of a modern ornament. What however, will the reader ſay to the following quotation from Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Poetry, in which we have a ſimilar change on a ſimilar occaſion, " In one part of the poem," (Barklay's *Ship of* " *Fooles*,) " Prodicus's apologue of Hercules meet-
" ing *Virtue* and PLEASURE is introduced. In
" the ſpeech of PLEASURE our author CHANGES

[k] Smoaking, ſteaming. [l] Dark, gloomy. [k] Eaſe. [l] *Eglantine, or ſweet brier.* [m] Hid, ſecreted.

" HIS

" HIS METRE AND BREAKS FORTH INTO A " LYRICAL STRAIN, not totally void of elegance " and delicacy, and in a rythmical arrangement " adopted by Gray." (V. 2. p. 245.) It ſeems to have been a common device among our ancient exhibitions to introduce PLEASURE *ſuddenly appearing*. In a Stage direction to *All for Money*, 1578, we have " Here with ſome fine conveyance, PLEA- " SURE ſhall appeare from beneathe." (See Mr. Malone's Hiſt. of the Stage, p. 90.) Let it be obſerved that *Hebe* performs the ſame office to *Mars*, which *Pleaſure* does to *Battayle*,

" Τὸν δ' Ἥβη λοῦσεν, χαρίεντα δὲ εἵματα ἕσσε."
(Il. E. 905.)

I cannot conclude this digreſſion without venturing to declare, that I ſhall not be unwilling to diſſent from an adverſary, who riſes from the preceding diſcuſſion with unabated confidence in the articles of his creed.

After all the illuſtrations which I have laid before the reader, both of the nature and the effect of this aſſociating principle, his curioſity will ſtill, I truſt, be gratified by the following example, of which, in my opinion, the evidence is direct and irreſiſtible. We ſhall there find that an alluſion to a well known narrative has recalled to the mind of the Poet certain terms, which it contains; though the words are there applied in an abſtracted ſenſe, which in the original are referred to corporeal af-

ſections. The paſſage occurs in *Meaſure for Meaſure*, where the Duke is repreſenting to Angelo, that the excellent qualities, which were given us by Nature, were not intended to remain uſeleſs in the hands of the poſſeſſor, but were deſtined to be employed for the benefit of others.

" For if our *virtues*
" Did not *go forth of us*, 'twere all alike
" As if we had them not."

Every one perceives that the Poet here alludes to the narrative in the Goſpel, where Jeſus is conſcious "that VIRTUE had GONE OUT OF HIM," when the woman was cured of an *iſſue* of blood by *touching* his garment. (Mark 5. v. 25, &c.)

Would the reader believe that theſe latter words, *iſſue—touch*, are uſed in the preceding lines, though they are applied by the Poet to the operations of intellect?

" Heaven doth with us, as we with torches do,
" Not light them for themſelves: for if our *virtues*
" Did not *go forth of us*, 'twere all alike
" As if we had them not. Spirits are not finely
TOUCH'D
" But to fine ISSUES*." (Act I. S. i. p. 6.)

* That is, elevated minds are not endowed with ſuperior qualities, but (as Johnſon obſerves) to "great conſequences" and "for "high purpoſes."

The

The force of ſuch an example would be weakened by the feeble aſſiſtance of an illuſtration or a comment.

We may here take occaſion of obſerving that our Poet frequently alludes to the narratives of Scripture, and often employs its language in a very remote and peculiar manner. In the Play before us we have,

" I come to viſit the afflicted *ſpirits*
" Here in the *priſon*." (Act II. S. 3. p. 45.)

This, as Mr. Whalley obſerves, is a ſcriptural expreſſion, " By which alſo he went and preached " unto *the ſpirits in priſon*." (1 Pet. 3. 19.)

(See Mr. Malone's Appendix, pag. 563.)

Though I ſhall not on the preſent occaſion purſue my illuſtrations of the above ſubject; yet I cannot entirely diſmiſs a queſtion, which might afford the critic an ample ſource of enquiry and diſcuſſion.

In the following inſtance the Poet was induced to employ the language of Scripture from the impreſſion of a common ſubject, though he was probably himſelf unconſcious of the origin from which it was derived.

" It is the *cauſe*, it is the *cauſe*, my *ſoul*—,
" Let me not name it to you, you chaſte ſtars!
" It is the *cauſe*."——

(Othello. A. 5. S. 2. p. 619, 20.)

An

An anonymous critic has obſerved, that Shakſpeare ſeems to have had in view the following verſes in the fifth chapter of Jeremiah. "*They are* "*waxen fat, they ſhine! yea, they over paſs the deeds of the wicked: they judge not the* CAUSE, *the* CAUSE *of the fatherleſs:—Shall I not viſit for theſe things? ſaith the Lord: ſhall not* MY SOUL *be avenged on ſuch a nation as this?*"

If the reader is already diſpoſed to admit this conjecture of the anonymous commentator, his conviction would have been conſiderably ſtrengthened, if the critic had remarked, likewiſe, that in this very chapter the vengeance of the Lord is particularly denounced againſt the crime of ADULTERY.

"7th. When I had fed them to the full, they "then committed ADULTERY, and aſſembled "themſelves by troops in the harlots' houſes.

"8th. They were as fed horſes in the morning: "Every one neighed after his *neighbour's wife*.

"9th. Shall I not viſit for theſe things? ſaith "the Lord: And ſhall not *my ſoul* be avenged on "ſuch a nation as this."

In a quibbling dialogue between *Speed* and *Sir Protheus*, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, there occurs "a whimſical juxta-poſition of *loſt mutton* and a *ſtray*, (A. I. S. i. p. 110.) which, according to the opinion

opinion of Mr. Henley, a very intelligent reader of our Poet, has a reference to the firſt ſentence of the general confeſſion in the Prayer-Book, "*We have* "*erred and* STRAYED *from thy ways like* LOST SHEEP."

If the reader ſhould concur with Mr. Henley in aſcribing this origin to the quibble, the principles of our theory will, I truſt, in this caſe, defend our bard from all ſuſpicions of an *intentional* alluſion.—There is, however, one very remarkable paſſage, which appears to have ſo direct a reference to a ſacred ſubject, that our Poet cannot, I fear, be cleared from the imputation of profaneneſs, unleſs we ſhould imagine that the powers of his fancy were ſeriouſly employed in the ſervice of his piety, to explain or adorn the moſt profound and exquiſite topic of theological ſubtlety. In our Poet, *two* only are deſcribed, as at once united and divided in the ſocial bonds of ſeparation.

"So they lov'd, as love in *twain*
"Had the *eſſence but in one*,
"*Two diſtincts, diviſion none*:
"*Number there in love was ſlain.*
"*Hearts remote, yet not aſunder*,
"*Diſtance and no ſpace was ſeen*
"'Twixt the *turtle* and his queen:
"But in them it were a wonder.
"So between them love did ſhine,
"That the turtle ſaw his right
"Flaming in the phœnix ſight:
"*Either was the other's mine.*

" *Property was thus appall'd*
" *That the ſelf was not the ſame;*
" *Single nature's double name*
" *Neither two nor one was call'd.*

" *Reaſon, in itſelf confounded,*
" *Saw diviſion grow together:*
" *To themſelves yet either neither,*
" *Simple were ſo well compounded.*

" That it cry'd, *how true a twain*
" *Seemeth this concordant one!*
" *Love hath reaſon, reaſon none,*
" *If what parts can ſo remain.*

" Whereupon it made this threne,
" To the phœnix and the *dove,*
" *Co-ſupremes* and ſtars of love;
" As chorus to their tragick ſcene."

(Paſſionate Pilgrim. p. 343, &c.)

If we can induce ourſelves to believe that Shakſpeare really intended a ſerious alluſion to the great myſtery of the Catholic Faith, we may " accept without a bluſh" the aſſiſtance of a pious bard, who has at leaſt enlivened the awful gloom by the embelliſhments of fancy, and rendered the obſcurity luminous by the brilliant conceptions of a bold and fertile imagination.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

Page 35. For *rendneſs* read *redneſs*.
153. For *fire-woman* read *tire-woman*.
215. For *orign* read *origin*.

The author's diſtance from the preſs has occaſioned other errors of a ſimilar kind, which the reader will of himſelf readily diſcover and correct. He will likewiſe eaſily obſerve the little inaccuracies, which have taken place in the printing of the Greek. I have remarked on the paſſage which relates to the *Quintain*, in *As You Like It*, that its meaning is yet *undiſcovered*. In the laſt edition of Shakſpeare by Mr. Steevens, I find that Mr. Douce likewiſe has ſuppoſed the form of the Quintain to be that of the human ſhape. Our explanations however are ſo different in other reſpects, that my poſition may ſtill remain unaltered.